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CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2412) 1

Expression of thanks to the retiring President 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of the Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599) 1

NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2412th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 11 February 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2412)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of the Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
   Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599)

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: I should like at the very outset to pay a tribute to Mr. Atsu-Koffi Amega, representative of Togo, for his service as President of the Council for the month of January. I am sure I am speaking for all members of the Council in expressing to Mr. Amega deep gratitude for the great diplomatic skill, tact and courtesy with which he guided the Council's work last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of the Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599)

2. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: In accordance with decisions taken at the 2401st meeting, I invite the representatives of Morocco, the Niger and Senegal to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger) and Mr. Sarré (Senegal) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Egypt, India, the Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 11 February [*S/15604*] from the representative of Jordan which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Security Council to invite Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to participate in the consideration of the

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item entitled 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories', in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure".

5. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to the request.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: Members will recall that the Council considered this item at the 2401st meeting, on 12 November 1982. The Council resumes its consideration of the matter today in response to the request contained in a letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council [*S/15599*].

7. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/15488, which contains the text of a letter dated 12 November 1982 from the representative of Jordan to the President of the Council; S/15510, which contains the text of a letter dated 3 December from the representative of Morocco to the Secretary-General; S/15572, which contains the text of a letter dated 21 January 1983 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the Secretary-General; S/15574, which contains the text of a letter dated 24 January from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General; and S/15576, which contains the text of a letter dated 27 January from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Secretary-General.

8. The first speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

9. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: Mr. President, allow me to express to you our great esteem for your friendly country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. My delegation takes great pleasure in seeing you presiding over the Council this month, with your well-known diplomatic expertise and broad experience and great objectivity.

10. I should like also to express to my colleague Mr. Atsu-Koffi Amega of Togo our sincere congratulations and our appreciation of his outstanding wisdom and competence.

11. Today the Council is continuing its consideration of the Israeli racist settler practices in the occupied Arab territories. The Council today faces the strategy of "leaping" annexation, which was in the past preceded by the strategy of "creeping" annexation. The Israeli usurpers are no longer content with creating *faits accomplis* on the land inch by inch but now are sadistically involved in an expansionist process that, from their point of view, is irrevocable and that culminates eventually in annexation and the mass expulsion of the population and in depriving that population of its homeland.

12. In contravention of the principles of international law and the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,[1] the Israelis put forward exclusivist and selective interpretations of the law of nations, just as the Nazis did during the Second World War—and you, Mr. President, know full well what nazism means—when they deprived the people of Eastern Europe of human or legal protection under the pretext that those people were savages and uncivilized. Thus today the Israeli colonialists resort to the same racist pretexts to deny the rights of the Arab people to legal protection.

13. The charter of the Nazi Herut Party, which is the largest party in the ruling Likud coalition in Israel, provides that all Palestine, in addition to the East Bank of the Jordan, is Jewish territory. This slogan was chanted at the headquarters of the Herut Party by Begin's supporters during the elections that he won in 1977:

"This one is ours and that one too."*

14. And in the second paragraph of the so-called guiding principles, the Government of Israel states that "the Jewish people has an unquestionable historical right to the land of Israel, the bequest of our forefathers".

15. It is on this illusory basis that Begin's Government—which is no different from the previous Labour Party Governments of Israel, which ruled Israel through Zionist dogma—declares that the West Bank is not an occupied territory, but rather a "liberated territory". That claim runs counter to the most rudimentary principles and norms of international law, as adopted by the international community, represented in the United Nations.

16. Every criminal has his own way of justifying his crime, but the worst excuses are those which ascribe the crime to divine causes. The fact is that all religions and beliefs teach us that all human beings are equal, and we firmly believe in our common humanity. But the Zionists believe that the world is divided into a "select élite" and an inferior class, the common people. We are taught that man was created in God's image, but Begin, Sharon and Shamir are trying today to impose a new concept upon us: that the Lord was created in their image. What a disgrace it is that they debase the Lord and compare him to a real estate broker or a travel agent or an advocate of settler colonialism. What a disgrace it is, especially to do so before the Council. What a disgrace!

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

17. For all believers in ethics and justice, the worst thing of all has been the publication of advertisements on the real estate pages of major American and Israeli newspapers offering the usurped Arab territories in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights to wealthy Western investors born of Jewish mothers. That is a subterfuge that not even the most extreme Afrikaner would dare to resort to in South Africa to justify the expropriation of a territory or the exploitation of its natural resources.

18. By September 1982 the number of Israeli colonialist settlements in the West Bank and Gaza had reached 139, and the number in the Syrian Golan Heights—which were annexed against the will of the Council and in contravention of its resolutions—had reached 33, most of them of American origin. In Jerusalem, where it is impossible to calculate mathematically the expansion process, there are today more than 90,000 settlers who have colonized the annexed portion of the city, the eastern part, and there are 30,000 others who have settled more than 100 *nahals*, or military outposts, thereby laying racist siege to the City of Cities.

19. All this has been accompanied not only by expropriation, expulsion, deportation, imprisonment and oppression, but also by notions of superiority and by racial discrimination, which is no secret even to the representatives of the United States.

20. *The New York Times* of 5 November 1982 quoted David Levy, the Israeli Housing Minister, as having said two days earlier that another five settlements would be established in the West Bank in the race to alienate Arab rights—a race between Washington and Tel Aviv. That same newspaper, on 4 November, quoted a spokesman for the World Zionist Organization as saying that there are 25,000 Jews living in 103 settlements in the West Bank and that Israel will proceed with the implementation of its plan to settle 400,000 Jews on the West Bank. I use the word "Jew" not to mean the adherent of a religion, but to mean a settler-colonialist, for they have distorted the meaning of Judaism and transformed Jews into settlers —that is, into criminals—at the expense of the rights of the Arab people: 400,000 Jews in the West Bank in the next five years, and 1.4 million Jews in the next 30 years. Again, by Judaism I do not mean a religion; I use it to mean racist settler zionism, committed to colonialism and to United States imperialism.

21. In addition, *The Jerusalem Post* on 7 October 1982 published an interview with the Minister of Defence of Israel, the hero of Israel, Ariel Sharon; that interview was conducted in a settlement near Jenin, in the northern part of the West Bank. He said that "massive settlements all over the West Bank area are the best answer to the various plans that outsiders are trying to foist on Israel" [*see S/15482*]. Is that not a challenge to the Security Council? Is the Council not an "outsider" to Israel?

22. Israel's persistence in its policy of changing the demographic and geographical nature of the occupied Arab territories—a policy which constitutes a violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions—can only aggravate the tension and the volatile situation prevailing in the occupied Palestinian territories, the occupied Syrian territories and inside and outside Palestine.

23. In the Golan Heights, the Israeli occupation authorities have persisted in their brutal practices against our people in that occupied territory, thereby attempting to stifle any opposition to their designs for settlement and occupation. In a release dated 8 December, a French news agency stated that the Zionist occupation forces had arrested seven citizens in the Golan Heights, a fact that was confirmed by the Zionist security organs. Five of those arrested were from the village of Majdelshams and two from the village of Bakaata. They had been arrested because of their opposition to the occupation and annexation of the Golan Heights and the imposition of Zionist colonial status upon them. On 22 December the Zionist occupation authorities stormed the village of Majdelshams with tanks, armoured cars and helicopters and laid siege to it. The Zionist forces searched the houses, carrying out a campaign of terror and humiliation against men, women, children and the elderly, because as Syrian nationals they had rejected the Zionist regulations imposed by the occupation authorities in an attempt to undermine their national resistance.

24. In the national charter formulated at Majdelshams on 25 March 1981, a document expressing the will of the Syrian Arab citizens of the Golan Heights, it is stated that "the occupied Golan plateau is an integral part of Arab Syria". Article 3 of that charter, which was formulated by our citizens under occupation in spite of the Israeli tanks and United States war planes, provides that "our occupied territory is the sacred inheritance of the Syrian people and that any person who attempts to sell or abandon an inch of that territory to the Israeli occupiers will be committing unforgivable treason and a great sin against our people".

25. I can confirm to the Council that the situation in the Golan Heights is deteriorating day by day. The Jerusalem newspaper *Al-Fajr*, in its issue of 6 January 1983, quoted the mayor of the village of Majdelshams as saying: "We have been pressured by the occupation authorities to carry Israeli identification cards, but we carry hatred for them in our hearts."

26. The punishment meted out by the Israeli occupation authorities to every Syrian Arab in the Golan Heights who refuses to carry the Israeli identification card is equal to civil death, since such a person is prohibited from selling his crops if he does not carry an Israeli identification card and all opportunities to work

are denied him. Moreover, students whose fathers reject Israeli citizenship are denied the right to an education. The Israeli occupation authorities deny Syrian teachers in the Golan Heights the right to work unless they carry the Israeli identity papers that have been imposed upon them.

27. With regard to Israeli expansion in the Golan Heights—a *fait accompli* that Israel considers to be irrevocable, but one that we feel can be changed—*Al-Fajr* recently quoted the Israeli official responsible for the expansionist Israeli settlement operations in the Golan Heights as stating:

> "We want to add 20,000 citizens within five years, and the law [on the annexation of the Golan Heights approved by the Israeli Knesset on 14 December 1981"]—a law which the Security Council declared null and void in its resolution 497 (1981)—"helps us in this respect. There are initiatives for investors. We are planning a large settlement that can accommodate hundreds of families, and we are also making plans to establish other permanent settlements in addition to the 31 already in existence."

28. Such facts and figures, and many others, represent a great deal of human suffering and are violations of national sovereignty, international law and the principles of human rights, as well as having grave security and political implications that the Council will undoubtedly consider very important, since its prime responsibility is the elimination of aggression. Should the Council fail to exercise that responsibility, we would remind members that States have a natural right to exercise self-defence in order to repulse aggression, until the Council takes the necessary measures.

29. In light of these objectives and principles and in view of the tragic reality imposed by the Zionist colonialists on our citizens and brothers in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights—an now in south Lebanon, where, according to the latest reports from American sources, the Israelis are now building settlements—we must pause and ask what the Council will finally do and how it will live up to its responsibilities and its duties in the face of this continuous aggression that began in 1948.

30. The brutal aggression prevailing in the region can clearly be ascribed to three major interrelated factors, the first of which is the official American position of extending unlimited support to Israel. It is irrationally affording excessive protection to the aggressor, and such a course is detrimental to the Americans themselves, from whom, in the name of democracy and freedom of the press, the facts are being hidden and concealed.

31. How could these territories have been occupied, and by what means, had it not been for American support? How could the settlements have been built save for American support? How could it have been possible to expel these people from their lands and expropriate their properties without such support? That is the question we put to the Council. How could this crook—Israel—even with all its strategic means, protect itself without assistance, without collusion and without American funds and weapons?

32. American assistance to Israel in all forms exceeds $4 billion for the next fiscal year. This figure includes $2.7 billion the American Government wishes to grant to Israel, including no less than $500 million of tax-exempt Jewish contributions and another $500 million in revenues from the sale of Israeli Government bonds, as well as several million dollars earned from tariff exemptions on Israeli products imported into the United States. These figures, large as they are, do not reflect the real dimensions and do not actually show the greed of Israel.

33. I should like to say that he who laughs today will cry tomorrow; he who laughs today when the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic is speaking will cry tomorrow.

34. Who is paying for the recent and continuous Israeli aggression against Lebanon? Surely, there is a dilemma regarding the capacity of the American treasury. While taxes are being imposed on American citizens living on welfare, Israeli greed is being satisfied at the expense of the American taxpayer. Why? Because senators, representatives and governors must obey the instructions of the Zionist lobby. In addition, this generous help is being provided while millions of third-world children are starving to death and while each Israeli is receiving approximately $1,000 annually in the form of American assistance, as well as revenues drawn from usurped Arab properties and properties of Palestinian refugees and at the expense of the Lebanese and Egyptian economies.

35. As for the Palestinians, they receive from the American Administration only incendiary bombs, cluster bombs and fragmentation bombs dropped from sophisticated American aircraft. In one day last summer the number of these bombs reached 200,000. Actually, the United States is involved in a colonialist scheme; in order to give this scheme the necessary respect, to promote it and to sell it to American public opinion, the United States Government has thrown in the so-called strategic alliance for the defence of democracy—this democracy which has stifled Lebanon economically and destroyed its people, its economic symmetry and its health and social structures. Having devastated cities and villages and having destroyed the total infrastructure of Arab Palestine and Arab Lebanon, it has also isolated Arab Egypt and imposed restrictions on its sovereignty.

36. The second factor, which is no less important than the first, is that while Israel escalates its expansionist policies and hastens to implement them,

persisting in its violations of established rules and principles of international law. Washington tries to hoodwink world public opinion into believing that it seeks peace. Where is the evidence for this trend? There is evidence of blackmail—that is, land in exchange for sovereignty, land in exchange for restrictions on freedom or, rather, part of the land in exchange for the destruction of the sovereignty of a State. Where is the evidence? The American Administration denies the Palestinians their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State and makes withdrawal by Israel conditional upon concessions from those whose territories are being occupied by Israel with the force of American weapons and funds. The Israeli blackmail in Lebanon is the latest proof.

37. The current meetings of the Council must be interpreted as another test of the credibility of American policy with regard to Israel's settlements policy and the protection of the national rights of the Palestinian people. It is also a test of the American position on the continuous violation of Arab rights in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

38. We wish once more to declare to the United States delegation that we are not guardians of American interests in the area.

39. If the United States really wants peace, then it must make use of the principles of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, Morocco, on 25 November 1981 and from 6 to 9 September 1982, based on full Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and from Jerusalem, the declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State and the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, including its right to establish an independent State [*S/15510, annex, sect. I*]. We repeat that there will be peace only if it is based on the Fez principles, which enjoy consensus throughout the Arab world.

40. We sincerely believe that the Council must condemn Israel and its Zionist dogma, regardless of the personality of Israel's ruler today or of its future rulers—for Israeli dogma remains the same no matter what party is in power. Political parties in Israel are a way of splitting power, but the dogma remains the same; it is that of Zionism; it is a racist settler dogma. The Israeli nature cannot be changed regardless of who rules.

41. Is not Allon a member of the so-called Socialist Party? And is not what we see today the faithful implementation of his infamous 1967 plan? The essence of the issue is the Zionist ideology stemming from petrified, immoral and distorted colonialist dogma—an ideology which cannot survive within the framework of an international régime under the rule of law.

42. At the outset of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon we warned the Council that Israel's objectives were to gain more land. The Council adopted two resolutions calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from all Lebanese occupied territory. What has the Council done about those resolutions?

43. We warned the Council that the objectives of Israel were to usurp the land of others and we, along with all other objective analysts, expected the fate of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights to be directly linked to the blood-bath committed in Lebanon. This is the third factor constituting proof of the Israeli madness we are still witnessing. While the Israelis were committing methodical massacres in Lebanon against Lebanese and Palestinians, they were actually trying to achieve two other aims—the first, to weaken Syria, the bastion of Arab resistance and confrontation; and the second, as I said before, to smallow up more Arab territories, to eliminate the heroic resistance of our citizens who are under occupation and to liquidate the Palestinian resistance inside and outside.

44. The Israelis are presenting the world with an occupation that is a *fait accompli* and that is being expanded. Here one has to wonder if the lexicon of the United States delegation will continue to fail to consider annexation as a form of aggression—just as it did when Israel annexed the Golan Heights.

45. We in the Syrian Arab Republic have stated that Arab rights are not up for sale or for barter. We have also said that we are resolved to resist aggression and occupation, regardless of the price and the sacrifices. In our persistent efforts to achieve peace, we will not give up our rights or the rights of our Arab brothers. We should like to remind the Council that the one that is impeding work towards a just peace is the one that is providing Israel with funds, weapons and political support in all areas. The evidence we cite is what has happened to Lebanon and the impediments erected by the United States in order to bring about the abrogation of Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

46. In conclusion, I should like to recall that Israel and the United States are responsible, before the international community, for every violation or contravention of Arab rights, whether they be territorial or humanitarian rights. Our national duty is very clear from the Charter of the United Nations. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have determined that the colonial settlements are illegal and must be treated as such and destroyed. Every Arab citizen must return to his homeland and his property and Israel must withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories unconditionally and must recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people, which are inalienable rights.

47. If the Council is to regain its prestige and credibility—and I apologize for saying that, but my land is occupied and my people is oppressed—it must

impose mandatory sanctions against Israel, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and must expel Israel from the Organization as a non-peace-loving State, as provided for by the General Assembly in its resolution ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982, adopted at the ninth emergency special session, convened to consider the question of the annexation of the Golan Heights. We appeal to all States, both members and non-members of the Council, to cease dealing with Israel in all fields unless Israel respects the principles of the Charter and the rules of international law.

48. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian):* The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

49. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic):* Mr. President, at the outset of the first statement I have the honour to make before the Council, as the representative of Egypt, I should like to express our appreciation of resolution 528 (1982) adopted unanimously at the end of last year to make the Arabic language a language of the Council in recognition not only of that language's vitality in contemporary international relations and the important role of the peoples and States that use it, but also of the contribution made by those who speak it to world culture and legacy throughout history.

50. I should like to express our congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. You represent a country with which we have relations of friendship and mutual respect. I am sure that your experience and well-known ability will lead the Council to the desired success in discharging its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

51. I should also like to express the appreciation of the delegation of Egypt to your predecessor, the President of the Council last month, Mr. Amega, who demonstrated his experience and ability and is an exemplary representative of the friendly people of Togo, which has bonds of common history and struggle with my country.

52. My delegation is also pleased to see the friendly nations that joined the Council at the beginning of this year and hopes that they will have great success in discharging their great responsibilities for the maintenance of the stability and security of the world and the consecration of international legality.

53. The many meetings of the Council on the problem of the Middle East reflect the continuous concern of the world over this problem and the constant interest in the unceasing development of events in order to grasp from their meaning and tragedy new hope that may help in maintaining peace in the Middle East.

54. If the Council has chosen to consider today exclusively one side of this multifaceted problem, this is due not only to the fact that it is the only item on the agenda, but perhaps also to the fact that the aspect of territory is the gravest of all the aspects and constitutes one of the bases on which peace is founded. If this is lost, the possibilities of peace based on legality and justice will be lost. Justice is the only guarantee for the maintenance of stability and security.

55. The policy of settlement practised by Israel since 1967 in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories has become a serious issue. It has extended beyond the territories occupied in 1967.

56. All the components of the problem are based on this occupation and the centrality of the subject of territory. Starting with practices against the legal inhabitants of the land—those who have the legal and historical rights—we see a policy that seeks to evacuate the Palestinian inhabitants gradually from the occupied territories. This occupation of territory leads to a strangulation of the national legislative, administrative and educational institutions as well as transforming the Palestinian inhabitants by force from full-fledged citizens in their land to citizens the least of whom could be described as second-class or third-class citizens who daily suffer greatly under the yoke of the military occupation.

57. All the peace initiatives have been unanimous, in one way or another, on the necessity of implementing Council resolution 242 (1967), which calls on Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. All those initiatives have that sound legal and political basis for a just peace in the Middle East. Despite that, the continuous Israeli practices since 1967 in the occupied Arab territories aim at undermining that basis by the determined liquidation of everything having to do with the subject of territory, by establishing settlements, seizing the water resources or evacuating the original inhabitants of the territory.

58. A settlements policy which started, only two weeks after the June 1967 war, by annexing Arab Jerusalem has continued in the Jordan Valley in order to erect a human barrier from north to south on the West Bank of the Jordan River; then it went on to create more settlements around the larger Palestinian cities of Nablus, Ramallah, Hebron and Halhul. Those policies were at first camouflaged under the pretext of security; then other arguments—religious and historical claims—were used, under the label of "liberated" or "administered" territories. Today all those policies are pursued brazenly and with impunity to try to swallow up the rest of the occupied Arab territories.

59. All international forums and the resolutions emanating from them have been unanimous in stating that the settlements are illegal and an obstacle to peace. I need not recall here before the Council the statement by the United States Department of State on the

illegality of the settlements, issued in April 1978. It described the establishment of those settlements as being in contravention of international law. I need not recall article 49, paragraph 6, of the fourth Geneva Convention[1] and its application to the occupied Arab territories, our insistence that Israel should respect them, and Israel's persistence in claiming that those international agreements do not apply to the occupied territories. It is a situation in which no one supports Israel.

60. The study published by Benvenisti, the former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, in which he describes the means and aims to dominate more occupied Arab territories and increase the number of Israeli inhabitants, has debunked the Israeli peace claims. The main plan put forward by the settlements administration of the Jewish Agency and the Settlement Section of the Zionist Association covers five years starting from 1983. Right from this year, in accordance with that plan, there will be, in addition to the inhabitants of the West Bank, 100,000 Israelis; 20,000 will be added in the Golan Heights and 10,000 in the Gaza Strip. We can imagine the consequences of all that for the original inhabitants of those Arab territories.

61. Israel is actually practising the right of ownership over 400,000 acres of the total area of the West Bank—which is estimated at 1.5 million acres—under an old Ottoman law which Israel invokes to claim the right to seize uncultivated land.

62. It is clear that the explicit aim here is to keep the Arabs under military rule, surrounded by settlements in which the inhabitants would be hostages in their own territory and homeland, surrounded by Israeli citizens who are subjected to Israeli law on all sides, and where in the end there would be a duality in the rule prevailing, which the Palestinians would either accept or be expelled for good.

63. The Council unanimously adopted its resolution 465 (1980) which states, in paragraph 5, "that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition... of the... territories occupied... including Jerusalem... have no legal validity". In 1981 the Council adopted resolution 497 (1981), on the illegality of Israel's decision to impose its laws in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, and demanded that Israel should rescind it forthwith. Other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in 1982 confirm those principles and call on Israel to respect and implement them.

64. The delegation of Egypt sees Israel's resistance and intransigence and its persistence in refusing to comply with the will of the international community as weakening the possibilities for peace, a breach of the principles of the Charter and international law, a violation of Israel's contractual commitments and a placing of obstacles day after day in the path of all the sincere initiatives that seek to put an end to the vicious cycle of war, bloodshed and instability in the Middle East.

65. Egypt is not alone when it says that the key to peace in the Middle East is acceptance by each party of the rights of all parties to existence, self-determination and independence within the framework of international legality. Peace cannot be maintained by evacuating the original inhabitants from their land. Occupation, oppression and the establishment of settlements are futile. The only way to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict is by a dialogue for a just peace in which all the parties take part, without any party trying to pre-empt the situation by effecting *de facto* changes as Israel does.

66. The policy of force and oppression exacerbates the situation. The old methods that have been used so far—and more starkly and flagrantly—cannot lead to stability. The continued establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories should cease forthwith.

67. The usurpation of land by force cannot prepare the way towards peaceful coexistence. We hail the attitudes we have witnessed in Israel itself in the last few months, deploring and rejecting the policy of oppression and suppression, because the peace dynamism and the peace circle—despite all adverse pressures—are expanding day by day. We are not far away from the winds of change expressed by the voices of peace we have heard recently in Israel itself calling for a dialogue and coexistence and mutual recognition of rights and duties.

68. The glimmer of hope, emanating from these attitudes that oppose policies rejecting peace, will confirm that the genuine desire for peace based on justice and international legality is destined to prevail. The Council, is discharging its responsibilities and commitments for maintaining international peace and security, should reaffirm in regard to the Middle East what has been stated in its resolutions concerning the illegality of Israeli policies and practices in the occupied Arab territories and the necessity of desisting from them forthwith so that the circle of peace, now small and limited, may expand, and so that the voices of peace and right and justice may be heard loud and clear in implementation of the national legitimate Palestinian rights to its occupied territories under its legal leadership, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions and in the light of a new epoch of coexistence and conciliation among all the peoples of the region and the world.

69. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

70. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): Mr. President, allow me first of all to extend to you the felicitations of my delegation on your having assumed the important office of President of the Council for the month of February. India enjoys cordial and friendly relations with your country, the Soviet Union. We share the conviction that the Council is the richer for your varied diplomatic experience and wise counsel and that under your stewardship it will be able effectively to address itself to the pressing problems of the day.

71. One such problem, which is a matter of grave concern and great urgency, is the problem which brings us to this chamber again this evening. It is not, by any means, a new problem. At the same time it is a matter which in the recent past has assumed a new and frightening dimension and which threatens further to aggravate the tension and strife that have long afflicted the Middle East.

72. Not too long ago the world was witness to yet another series of Israel's misdeeds. The memory of Israel's brazen aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people and of the genocidal massacres of Sabra and Shatila is still fresh in our minds. The report of the Israeli Commission of Inquiry released earlier this week has established beyond doubt the responsibility of the Israeli authorities. One would have hoped that with the restoration of another transient and precarious truce in the Middle East, and with the efforts being made in several quarters to look for a just and lasting settlement of the Palestine question, a greater sense of sobriety and responsibility would be displayed by all concerned. But obviously the attributes of sobriety and responsibility are quite alien to Israel. Obviously the Government of Israel is too habituated to indulgence in acts of aggression, subversion and every conceivable kind of provocation to remain inactive for long.

73. Israel's decision to press ahead with its plans to establish further settlements in the illegally occupied Arab territories is only one more instance of how that country wilfully flouts international law and the will of the world community as reflected in innumerable resolutions of the General Assembly as well as of the Council. All those decisions and resolutions have recognized that this policy violates international law and constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to peace and stability in the region. Clearly Israel's recent actions are part of its grand design radically to alter the demographic structure of the occupied territories in violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.[1] It is now estimated that the number of Israeli settlers on the West Bank has increased more than seven-fold in the last five years. If the Israeli régime has its way, we are told that 400,000 Israelis will be made to settle on the West Bank over the next five years and 1.4 million in the same area over the next three decades. We also have been hearing of instances of brutal repression being undertaken against the indigenous population of the occupied territories. We have learned about the coercive politicization of academics in the occupied territories, by forcing them to sign political declarations under duress. All these actions are proof—if further proof were indeed needed—that Israel has every intention to perpetuate its illegal occupation over the West Bank and Gaza, to add to its equally illegitimate annexation of the Golan Heights. They are further proof that Israel pays scant regard to the wishes and interests of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in the occupied territories and has no desire to contribute to a fair and durable solution to the Palestinian problem.

74. The brave people of Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, have been through endless agony. Successive generations of Palestinians have not known what it means to live in peace. Their aspirations are consecrated with the blood of thousands of innocent men, women and children. Today the freedom-fighters of Palestine have been dispersed to far-away places, separated from their near and dear ones, waiting in the hope that they can one day return to see the fulfilment of their legitimate rights. The people of Palestine have made tremendous sacrifices and have demonstrated both statesmanship and a spirit of accommodation. They have every right to restitution of their homeland and the establishment of an independent State of their own. Recently certain proposals have been made, particularly at Fez [*ibid.*], which could constitute a significant step forward in the quest for a settlement. We should like those proposals to make headway. The creation of an atmosphere conducive to that end is essential. Israel's intolerable actions can only gravely hamper that process. It is imperative that Israel be restrained, effectively and without prevarication, by those in a position to restrain it.

75. The Council should in unequivocal terms fix responsibility on Israel for all its actions in the occupied Arab territories in violation of the Council's resolutions and its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and demand its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from those territories.

76. The Council discharges an important duty. It has the capacity to act decisively and with a sense of purpose to put a halt to Israel's intransigence. We hope that its members will display the requisite political will to do so. We hope that the Council will vindicate our trust.

77. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

78. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): I should like to express my gratitude to the Council for enabling me to present the views of Yugoslavia on the situation in the occupied Arab territories.

79. I should like first to avail myself of this opportunity, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Our appreciation goes also to the representative of Togo, Mr. Amega, President of the Council in January.

80. Our congratulations are also addressed to the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, countries that were elected to the Council at the last session of the General Assembly.

81. We are particularly pleased to note the growing number of representatives of non-aligned countries elected to the Council. Their participation in the deliberations of the Council is another example, in our view, of the increasingly important influence and role of the policy and movement of non-alignment in international relations.

82. The use of force by Israel, its continuous and systematic expansion, its policy of defiance, colonization and domination have for years been the focus of our attention and represent a continous challenge to the conscience of the international community.

83. The General Assembly, as well as the Security Council, recently considered the consequences of the aggressive policy of Israel, which is attempting to subjugate peoples and to usurp their land by force. Flagrant violations of norms of international law, as well as the encroachment upon the inalienable rights of the population in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, continue unabated.

84. Recourse to arms, persecution and infringement of the fundamental human rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples remain the order of the day. Examples of and testimony to the continued aggression, expansion and annexation of Arab territories, and the suffering of the people living in those territories, demonstrate that there is a threat to the peace and security of the region and of the world at large.

85. There are systematic attempts to impose changes by *fait accompli* in the political, demographic and national map of the entire region. A large part of the national territory of Lebanon remains under Israeli occupation. Persecution continues on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights—all territories occupied by Israel. In defiance of the decisions of the United Nations, there are more and more illegal settlements on Palestinian and Arab soil and property.

86. It should be clearly stated once again that the purposes and aims of the Charter of the United Nations and our dedication to the principles of independence and sovereignty, as well as our dedication to the right to national life and existence of all peoples, make us duty bound to bring an end to the incessant repression and blatant and continuous violation of the human rights of the Palestinian people and to attempts at the so-called dispersal of Palestinians.

87. We fully support the resolve of the Palestinian people to live in freedom and independence and in its own territory. The Palestinian people have not yielded in their determination to achieve their own liberation and to preserve their national and cultural identity. In that struggle they are led by their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO.

88. The peoples of Yugoslavia have jealously safeguarded and are still jealously safeguarding their freedom and independence. Our experience and that of other peoples teach us that peoples fighting for freedom, self-determination and independence will not and cannot remain alone; they are always stronger than those trying to impose domination and they are victorious in the end. The quest for freedom by the Palestinian people has made the world aware of the moral obligation to put an end to such domination. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people have become one of the highest and most urgent responsibilities of the United Nations, and the Palestinian people have the sovereign right to self-determination, which implies the establishment of their own State.

89. We believe that new efforts have to be made in that regard so that the bases for a lasting peace, security and justice for all peoples and States in that region, can be created. The United Nations, and in particular the Council, must constantly promote the legitimate rights to freedom and independence of all peoples under colonial and foreign domination. It cannot be tolerated that these rights be violated and ignored, as in the case of the Palestinian people.

90. There is no doubt that the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, bears great responsibility for solving the Middle East crisis. The role of the United Nations in this process is indispensable and should be further strengthened. The constant use of force, military interventions and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries call for a higher sense of responsibility, and this should be approached with a great sense of urgency if more countries are not to fall victim to the use of force and aggression.

91. Yugoslavia, as well as other non-aligned countries, has always attached great significance to all aspects of the Middle East crisis, in particular the aspect of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We have always proceeded from the genuine principles of non-alignment—opposing any aggression and use of force and colonial and foreign domination and supporting the right of all peoples to decide their destiny freely—and we have always considered that the United Nations constitutes the best framework for safeguarding the fundamental rights of peoples.

92. We are party to an ever-more-widely-held position that Israel must withdraw from all Arab territories, including Jerusalem, occupied after 5 June 1967 and that the Palestinian people have the right to self-determination, national independence and their own State.

93. No solution can, in our view, be considered just and comprehensive without the participation of the PLO on an equal footing and without the recognition of the right of all States and peoples in the region to independence, within secure and recognized boundaries.

94. We expect that further efforts will be undertaken by the Security Council and the General Assembly, and other initiatives taken aimed at a just, lasting and comprehensive political solution of the situation in the Middle East and of the Palestinian question as its core.

95. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: The next speaker is the representative of the Yemen Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

96. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: I should like at the outset to express my pleasure at seeing you, Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich Troyanovsky, presiding over the work of the Council, for you are a close friend of the Arab people and your country is a true friend of the Arab people and is linked to Yemen by long-standing bonds of friendship going back 54 years. Yemen was one of the first Arab States to sign a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, in 1928. I had the honour to participate in the preparations for the celebrations which took place in 1978 in Sana'a to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-Yemeni treaty of friendship. That long-standing friendship between Yemen and the Soviet Union is a demonstration of good faith and mutual respect and trust. The delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic therefore hopes, Sir, that under your presidency the Council will adopt resolutions which will restore the international community's confidence in the Security Council, which is entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

97. I should like also to express my delegation's thanks to the members of the Council for their kindness in permitting it to participate in this discussion. I also extend our congratulations to the new members of the Council.

98. I cannot fail to express our appreciation also to Mr. Amega of Togo, who presided over the work of the Council last month with outstanding wisdom.

99. Once more the Council is considering the situation in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, where tragedy and suffering have been unremitting for the past 35 years. The Palestinians are still suffering the agony of displacement, the tragedy of poverty and depriviation, and the bitterness of loss. They live on handouts and are the victims of humiliation, hegemony and blackmail on the part of Israel. They are herded to be massacred, as in the latest case, that of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. Who is responsible for that? Do not you, the members of the Council—and especially the permanent members—bear a large part of that responsibility because you played the role of spectators with regard to an occupied and displaced people, uprooted from its lands and homes 35 years ago? Whatever has happened to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law? Whatever has happened to the ethical principles adopted by the civilized world? Whatever has happened to the universal principles calling for respect for human rights? Whatever has happened to your conscience, you permanent members of the Council?

100. The Arabs have declared repeatedly that they are a peace-loving nation. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, unanimously adopted an Arab peace plan which, *inter alia*, calls for the establishment of a just, comprehensive peace in the Middle East, guaranteeing the right of all peoples in the region to live in peace within secure borders, this to be guaranteed by the Security Council [*ibid.*]. What, members of the Council, have you done with this international responsibility, entrusted to you by the international community? What have you done in the face of Israeli intransigence and rejection of all peace initiatives? Will you disappoint the international community once more, and will you permit the State of the Zionist gangs to wreak havoc with impunity, oppressing Palestinian citizens, expelling them from their territories, devastating their homeland, displacing them, and oppressing and humiliating those who are left under occupation? The evidence calling for the Council to condemn these Zionist gangs is abundant; the most recent evidence is contained in the report of the Israeli commission of inquiry into the atrocious massacres of Palestinians committed in the Sabra and Shatila camps, claiming the lives of innocent women, children and old people.

101. The State of the Zionist gangs has become addicted to blackmail, treachery and treason, and to sowing discord among brothers and neighbours. The latest report on this subject was published in *The Christian Science Monitor* of 8 February 1983. It stated that the Zionist occupiers of southern Lebanon admit that they have begun to establish, through blackmail and the threat of force, militias of Shiite Muslims, which they have dubbed "Guards of the South" or the "National Guard", to pit Lebanese Muslims against one another. Yet the admirers of Israel speak of its democracy and its ethical principles. Does Israel's "democratic" régime absolve its leaders of responsibility for the crimes which they commit daily against humanity?

102. The people of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are subjected daily to the expropriation of their territory, to expulsion from their homes, to the devastation of their homeland, to the establishment of Zionist settlements, and to the construction of roads on their territory. Their schools and universities are closed down periodically. Students and faculty members are arrested for petty reasons. Unjust taxes are levied on poor citizens. Political prisoners are tortured. Villages and camps are denied electricity and water in extremely cold weather conditions.

103. Whatever happened to the Israelis' ethical principles? Man cannot commit such barbaric acts unless he abandons his humanity. To our great regret, a super-Power that is a permanent member of the Council, one that assumes great responsibility for international peace and security is strengthening this Nazi régime through military and economic assistance with the funds it collects from its taxpayers who themselves are desperately in need of such funds to generate employment.

104. It has been proved beyond doubt that the rulers of Israel were the planners and executors, in accordance with military traditions, of the orders for soldiers to enter the camps of the Palestinian refugees to commit the horrendous massacre that claimed the lives of innocent persons in the Sabra and Shatila camps. The prime responsibility for that horrendous massacre falls upon the Israeli forces of occupation. The Israeli committee of inquiry has condemned bloodthirsty Sharon and called for his resignation or expulsion from the Israeli Cabinet. It has also condemned bloodthirsty Begin, Shamir and the Nazi military clique of spiteful officers, whose actions reveal their malice.

105. The Council has called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, but Begin's Government is resolved to impose its unjust conditions on Lebanon through blackmail and the threat of continued occupation.

106. The Begin Government has totally disregarded the Arab peace plan and the peace plan proposed by the late President of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev [*see S/15403, annex*], as well as President Reagan's peace initiative[2] and all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. That Government has, I repeat, totally disregarded all of these. What option is then left to the Council to deter aggression and establish peace in the Middle East? In the view of my delegation, it has no other option but to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, including resolution 37/86 D, which requests the Security Council to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter and recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the right to self-determination and the right to establish its independent Arab State in Palestine, as well as to implement relevant United Nations resolutions by implementing the plan which, *inter alia*, recommends that an independent Arab State shall come into existence in Palestine.

107. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, upon whom I now call.

108. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The fact that the Council responded almost immediately to the request of the Group of Arab States in the United Nations, as submitted by the representative of Jordan [*S/15599*], is an expression of the concern of the members of the Council at the policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, in the Palestinian and other Arab territories under Israeli military occupation since June 1967, including Jerusalem. We are certain that under your presidency, Sir, and with your wisdom, the Council will prescribe a formula—or will, at least, spare no effort to prescribe one—that will end the existing state of continuous and alarming deterioration in the situation in the Middle East. First and foremost the Council must, we believe, invoke all the powers vested in it by the Charter of the United Nations to compel a so-called Member of the United Nations to accept and carry out the Council's decisions and, in case of failure, the Council should then prescribe the remedies detailed in the Charter.

109. It is our earnest belief and conviction that the founding fathers who drafted and ratified the Charter meant every word in it. It is not a literary heritage; it is a moral heritage aimed at saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war". And yet two generations of Palestinian Arabs have been subjected to the scourge and horrors of acts of aggression, culminating in acts of genocide.

110. You, Mr. President, represent peoples in the Soviet Union who have paid an extremely high price. The heroic peoples of the Soviet Union resolved to confront and defeat the Nazi onslaught and, together with the peace-loving peoples in the world, they succeeded in crushing the Nazis and their allies. Thus, you do know from personal experience what the scourge of war means. Your Government has unequivocally pronounced its commitment to all endeavours to secure a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East. We in the PLO know that your Government is sincerely committed to its policy in the Middle East, and our Palestinian people highly esteem that principled stand.

111. I wish to register my great appreciation to our brother, the representative of Togo, who conducted the business of the Council last month. I wish to extend through you, Sir, to Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda our appreciation for their positive contribution to the achievement of peace during the past two years. In particular our thanks go to

their representatives especially during the summer of 1982 when Israel, backed by the Administration in Washington, decided to resume its expansionist *Lebensraum* policy and to invade yet another territory, the sovereign State of Lebanon, with the elimination of the Palestinian people as one of the declared Israeli aims. To Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe we extend a hearty welcome, assuring their representatives, our friends and colleagues in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of our full co-operation in the joint efforts to find a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

112. The Council has decided to resume the debate it began in November 1982 [*2401st meeting*]. In September 1982 the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference was held at Fez, and a declaration constituting the basis for a constructive approach to attain peace was unanimously adopted [*S/15510, annex, sect. I*]. This approach fully recognizes the role of the United Nations and specifically the role of the Security Council, on which the States Members have conferred the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, agreeing that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Council acts on their behalf.

113. The declaration of the Fez Arab Summit Conference is a reaffirmation of the trust of the Arabs in the Council. The PLO wishes, on behalf of the Palestinian people, to reaffirm its adherence and commitment to the principles of the Charter, the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Palestine and, naturally, the decisions of the Arab Summit Conference.

114. I am being asked by a number of friends why the Council should be convened. I have just stated why the Council convenes at any time. The Council convenes simply because it is entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. This responsibility was conferred upon the Council by "the peoples", as the Charter says, and the Palestinian people is one of those peoples.

115. I am also being asked why the Council should be convened now. Frankly, for the past few weeks the PLO has been issuing almost daily information and press releases on the fate and destiny of our brothers under Israeli occupation. We had hoped that, as a result of those letters that were addressed to the President of the Council and the Secretary-General and of those press releases, we would at least receive some response from someone and the matter would be taken up seriously in the Council.

116. Well, that did not really happen, so the matter was discussed in the Group of Arab States and a decision was taken to ask the Council to convene—and I am glad that the Council has responded.

117. I should like now to tell the Council why we thought the Council should meet. I shall deal first with the Palestinian educational establishments in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel.

118. On 13 January, after midnight, armed Israeli soldiers raided and searched the campus of Bethlehem University. They took away posters, literature and other printed material from the bulletin boards. According to a press release by the University, "two military vehicles appeared at the university gates at 11.30 p.m."—almost midnight—"and demanded entry to the campus". Of course, the gatekeeper refused to unlock the gates. But when Brother Thomas, the Bethlehem University Vice-President, and others arrived, the soldiers showed them a document written in Hebrew—a language that Brother Thomas did not understand—and claimed that it was a warrant. Being a man of the church and actually assigned to his post by His Holiness, Brother Thomas just let them in. For the next four hours soldiers toured the buildings of the University, confiscating papers, posters, written materials and photographs from bulletin boards. Some of them went to the trouble of photographing university rooms. I do not know why they did that, but they did.

119. The Academic Vice-President of the college, Brother Robert Daszkiwicz, told the press that the invasion of Bethlehem University was an infringement on the University's and its students' rights to own property, to be free to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers, as well as to be free to hold peaceful assemblies. The University administration issued a statement calling upon "all people who seek peace and justice and all those committed to preserving academic freedom to join them in speaking out against this nighttime invasion". As a representative of that people, I thought it my duty to bring that appeal before the Council.

120. Earlier that day, troops has surrounded the campus and prevented students and visitors from getting in. At the time, hundreds of students were celebrating, delivering speeches and singing as part of a cultural programme entitled "The Palestinian Song Festival", sponsored by the students' senate arts club. Perhaps the word "Palestinian" enraged the Israelis. Brother Thomas reportedly told the authorities that he refused to intervene and prevent such festivities, since that would be interference in internal activities.

121. Similar raids were carried out against Al-Najah University, in Nablus, in which 10 members of the students' council of the University were arrested.

122. At Bir Zeit University, Israeli military personnel arrested two students and barred foreign faculty from entering the campus on 18 January. Military checkposts stopped all cars and buses carrying students and teachers to the University. Israeli soldiers at

the checkposts ordered teachers and students to get out of their vehicles, conducted body searches and arrested two students. Nine foreign teachers were stopped: their names were checked against a list; their passport numbers were recorded; and the expiration dates of their visas were registrered.

123. It was reported that Israeli soldiers informed the foreigners that they had been forbidden to teach at Bir Zeit University and that, if they did, they would be breaking the law.

124. There is also a university in Hebron. For three days no classes were held at Hebron University—on 15, 16 and 17 January—following the detention of 30 students. On 17 January five foreign teachers were ordered to stop lecturing until they signed an anti-PLO pledge. These teachers are British and Irish nationals giving classes at Hebron University; they were threatened with arrest if they kept working there.

125. And we are asked: Why convene the Council? We thought that perhaps the Council could really be moved and take some action.

126. Apart from incidents at the universities, there are other things happening. I shall quote from an Israeli newspaper, *Yediot Aharonot*, on the substance of testimony given by a member of the Knesset, Shiva Weiss, who sent a report to the Chairman of the Foreign and Security Affairs Committee of the Knesset and, through him, to the Prime Minister. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Chairman of that Committee has reacted and, according to the press report, no one took the trouble to check the information. The report deals with the stoning of an Israeli car. It says:

> "Half an hour later, in an alley far from where the stoning happened, an Arab boy was arrested and severely beaten with clubs until he could not stand any more on his legs. He was merely the first of those arrested in a preventative action which was planned for that night with the help of somebody appointed by the Israeli forces of occupation. Those people pointed out the addresses of inhabitants. Some 50 persons were arrested. They were concentrated along a wall, made to lie on their bellies and then to do what they call 'exercises'—flexing their elbows. Those who were slow were being beaten on their backs or their testicles. Kicking was also employed. The boy who was arrested previously was then interrogated in public, and he was made to lie under a jeep, beaten up and cursed. And until 6 a.m. the arrested continued doing exercises and being beaten while from time to time soldiers shot above their heads—soldiers beating and humiliating. The arrested were compelled to stand on one leg, with their hands kept forward like statues. And as dawn broke, the soldiers indulged in an orgy of shooting in the presence of the arrested. And as the morning cleared, a truck belonging to one of the local inhabitants was confiscated, and he was compelled to take all the arrested to the military government in the nearest town."

127. That was reported in *Yediot Aharonot* on 12 November 1982. And yet we are asked sometimes: Why go to the Council?

128. In *Ha'aretz* of 10 December, Amos Elon, a writer and journalist, reported the following:

> "Israel is a 'democracy of masters' which dominates a large population of other nations and denies them any rights, including the most fundamental ones. This population lives under a 'police State' which operates through arbitrary orders without the control of a parliamentary body. The Israelis can no longer escape from the acknowledgement of their *apartheid* policy."

129. This is one voice criticizing Israel within Israel. There were 400,000 Israelis criticizing Israel and nobody would dare say that the 400,000 were anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish. If one voice is raised in the United States criticizing Israel, immediately that person becomes anti-Semitic, even if he is a good honest-to-God Jew.

130. Radio Israel, broadcasting in Hebrew on 4 January 1983—the Jerusalem domestic service—reported the following:

> "An officer who was the commander of the General Staff branch in the Judea district testified today for the defence in the trial of the seven soldiers and officers charged with hitting civilians in Judea and Samaria. He said that there were clear directives on how to treat the population, and they included torture and hitting. . . . He answered in the affirmative the prosecutor's question of whether he carried out orders to hit pupils after a riot in a school in Hebron."

131. *The Jerusalem Post* in its issue of 21 January reported that a document was submitted to the Central Military Court in Jaffa on Wednesday, 19 January, during the trial of this officer and the other soldiers. According to that report Eitan—the Chief of Staff; his name came up the other day and we all know what happened, but it is irrelevant at this moment—had singled out issues such as the withdrawal from Sinai and the introduction of the civil administration as the main causes for unrest in the territories under occupation I wonder whether Eitan had ever thought that the unrest was caused by the prolonged occupation, by the repression, by the denial of the human and political and civil rights of the people. But what did he prescribe for confronting such a situation? First he opened a camp for teenage detainees at Far'a near Nablus. There were other recommendations, which were:

> "To arrest sparingly according to lists of suspects, arrest gradually according to the number of places available in the prisons;

"To use the means of punishing parents;

"To demonstrate a positive attitude to the 'good ones' and a harsh attitude to the 'bad ones' "—a carrot-and-stick policy.

132. In the document issued by Eitan he gave clear instructions to the following effect:

"Inciters are to be dealt with forcefully and detained at every opportunity;

"One must construct a camp urgently and use the legal facilities permitting detention for questioning [without trial] for the [18-day] period stipulated ... release for a day or two and then renewed arrest;

"The civil administration is to refrain from inviting notables in order to warn them [we would humiliate ourselves] and is instead to carry out arrests."

He also says in those directives that:

"The residents of the Jewish settlements have to carry arms and open fire when they are attacked. This should be made clear and publicized among the Arab residents."

They should be terrorized and shot at. A further point in the instructions says that:

"The civil administration should make extensive use of economic sanctions against problematic [Arab] localities, such as preventing the purchase of cement or fuel for a period we will determine."

That is, a period that the commander will determine.

133. And we are asked why the Council should meet and consider what is going on.

134. But this is not new to us. The military Government has issued orders to Israeli armed conscripts on the West Bank. One of those orders was the following:

"Anyone you catch outside, you first beat with the clubs all over his body, except the head. Have no mercy, break all his bones! Give no explanations. First of all beat, and when you are finished you can explain why you have done so. If you catch a small child, order his whole family out, make them stand in a row, and beat the father in front of his children. Don't treat this beating as a privilege, it's a duty! They understand no other way. There is no point in arresting those who just wander around outside. Beat them and send them home. But if someone causes trouble, throws stones or something, first break his bones and then put him on the vehicle that will take him to military headquarters. Remember: from the minute he is on the vehicle he is an arrested man and must not be beaten any more."

135. There is a process of indoctrination about a radical solution for the Arabs in what is called Eretz Yisrael. What is that radical solution? The radical solution is this: in order better to defend Israel, the areas of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and part of Sinai should be for ever under Israeli control. The only problem with that solution is the existence of more than 1 million Palestinian terrorists—that is what they say—who could be used by the Arabs behind the defence line. The solution: we have to expel all the Arabs from the occupied territories and kill those who resist. This appeared in the Israeli paper *Ha'aretz* on 31 December 1982.

136. Members can see the compelling circumstance that forced us to come to the Security Council once again.

137. And there is the question of our treasured land. The Israeli military authorities ordered the seizure on 13 January 1983 of 20,000 dunums of land belonging to residents of Al-Dhahiriyeh, south of Hebron. It was not accidental, because that tract of land falls in an area slated by the World Zionist Organization, under the Drobles Plan, for the establishment of settlement blocs around densely populated centres in the occupied territories. To my recollection, the Drobles Plan was circulated as a document of the Council [*see S/13582 of 22 October 1979*].

138. In this case the land is located within the Mount Hebron bloc, which, according to the World Zionist Organization's plan, will be the site of three settlements. But that land was not empty. It has been described by its owners as partially planted with almond and olive trees, while the other section was used for growing grain. For the families that owned the 20,000 dunums, the land constitutes a major source of income, if not the only source of income. The Israeli explanation: this is taken for military purposes.

139. But then, another 23,000 dunums—again around Hebron, in the village of Yatta—were confiscated. This time the reason for the seizure is not specified.

140. As is known, Hebron is south of Jerusalem. North of Jerusalem in the Ramallah district, 5,000 dunums belonging to the village of Mukhmas were seized, and, according to the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, the land will be used to build a road to connect the Israeli settlement of Mukhmish to the Palestinian village of Mukhmas.

141. Again, a detailed report, published before the military authorities notified the Palestinian residents, spoke of other areas in Jenin and Nablus—one more, north of Jerusalem—which will come up for grabs very soon.

142. Commenting on the Israeli campaign to grab more land, Meron Benvenisti, the former deputy mayor of Jerusalem and an authority on Israeli

settlements policy, said that the Israeli Government is going for 1.7 million dunums of West Bank land. He predicted that the next few months will witness a large increase in the rate of land confiscations.

143. In the Nablus area, 28,000 dunums were grabbed on 19 January. The Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property sent letters to the *mukhtars* of six villages informing them of the decision of the occupation authorities. Just grab it! What do they do with that land? According to *Ha'aretz*, five new Jewish settlements will be established in the Jordan Valley on the West Bank. The establishment of these new settlements has been approved by a Sub-Committee of the Governmental Committee for Settlements. So it is not being done by dissidents or irresponsible elements: it is being done by a Sub-Committee of the Governmental Committee for Settlements.

144. Three of those five new settlements will be established in 1983, as has been recommended by the Head of the Settlement Division in the Zionist Histadrut.

145. On 25 January 1983 residents of Samu Village on the West Bank complained that 1,500 dunums of their land had been illegally grabbed.

146. On the other hand, the Israeli military Governor of Gaza met with representatives of refugees on 25 January and ordered the delivery to the refugees of written instructions signed by the military officer in charge of Refugee Rehabilitation and Welfare Affairs —I do not know what sort of establishment that is. The instructions forbid the Palestinian refugees to construct new buildings, to build additional parts to old ones or to demolish old buildings in order to build new ones, without written permission from the military government. The instructions also forbid the selling or the renting of apartments or any buildings within the refugee camp area. So a Palestinian who has a house cannot rent a part of it in order to pay the taxes. Eventually he might end up having to sell the house in order to meet the dues and pay the taxes. That was in Gaza.

147. In the Nablus area, the military-appointed municipal council—or what they called a municipal council after they had dissolved the legally elected Council of Nablus—had stopped granting licences to residents for building in the areas east and west of the town, as well as in the Sawaneh and Green Belt areas, which cover an area of 700 dunums. Those areas were considered "closed" by the military and no building was allowed.

148. According to *Ha'aretz* of 5 January, the Israeli Minister of Science and one of his assistants are involved in establishing what they call "surveillant staffs" in the West Bank to prevent Palestinians from building new houses there.

149. One can see why it is imperative that the Council should involve itself—if it is really up to the responsibilities vested in it by the Charter of the United Nations. What we are seeing now is a policy of economic and geographic strangulation of the Palestinian people. But, again, for us who are learned in the Zionist doctrine, this is expected.

150. First, the aim was to spirit our people across the frontiers. That was what Herzl wanted to do. He did not succeed; nobody could spirit us across. Then Jabotinsky, the prompter and mentor of the Herut Party, called for the evacuation of the Palestinians as a prerequisite for establishing the State and said that the evacuation should take place, if need be, by an iron-first policy. Next came Koenig, who prescribed a "thinning away" policy — thinning the Arab population away, the way Eichmann wanted to thin away the Jews in Vienna. It is not accidental that they used the same terminology. And now we are approaching what is known as the "radical solution". Maybe it is a euphemism for the "final solution", but we shall not permit them to do it.

151. We come now to the way the Israelis continue their policies.

152. There was a United States President who, on 30 April 1979, stated that the policy of establishing settlements was inconsistent with international law and an obstacle to peace. Another President of the United States was asked what he would do about what he called a freeze on settlements. The Council calls for dismantling, the United States speaks of freeze, somebody may speak of defrosting, but nobody listens in any event. That President said:

> "I don't think that it would be good diplomacy to be threatening or anything. And I don't believe that's necessary. I think that all of us realize that peace is the ultimate goal there."

What peace is the ultimate goal in light of what we have just read to the Council? Even statements in the State Department of the United States vary.

153. Alan Romberg, on 4 November, commenting on the establishment of settlements, said:

> "[that] intention . . . [is] most unwelcome.
>
> ". . . we cannot understand why, at a time when we are actively seeking broader participation in the peace process, Israel persists in a pattern of activity which erodes the confidence of all, and most particularly the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza."

He even questioned Israel's "willingness to abide by the promise of resolution 242 [(1967)]". Even the United States questions that.

154. But I wish through you, Mr. President, to assure the representative of the United States that it is not only the confidence of the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza that has been eroded; the credibility of the United States and the confidence in the United States of all Palestinians have been eroded also. We have completely lost all confidence after Sabra and Shatila.

155. There was another statement by the State Department on the Israeli settlements—a most unfortunate and unwelcome statement. Here is a concrete translation of the position of the United States: only five months after Israel's brutal invasion of Lebanon, it gets $475 million more than it used to receive.

156. After slaughtering innocent men, women and children, Israel arrogantly dismissed President Reagan's Middle East peace plan. I am not defending that plan in any way, but I should at least like the United States to know exactly how much it is contributing —and not indirectly but directly—to Israel's maintenance of and persistence in its policy. After all, if the United States gives Israel $2.485 billion a year—officially two thirds of it will take the form of grants, but in the final analysis it will be all grants—I cannot understand how the United States can exonerate itself of this Israeli policy. And yet we are asked why the Council should intervene.

157. Israel occupies a large part of Lebanon. It has been asked and requested, and there have been demands to this effect too, to withdraw from those territories and to ensure that the lives of the people of those territories are safeguarded and protected.

158. On 9 February the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) issued a press release—at last someone in the United Nations informed us what was happening to our people under occupation. In that press release he stated that an explosion at the Miyah Miyah refugee camp, which has a population of 2,500, near Sidon, during the night had injured 3 people and damaged 14 houses, 2 seriously. Mr. Rydbeck, the Commissioner-General, said at his headquarters in Vienna:

> "This is the third incident at the camp in less than two weeks. On 31 January a shop in the camp was blown up, and on 1 February a group of men arrived in taxis and stoned some houses. UNRWA is in touch with the Israeli forces on the spot in an attempt to put an end to these attacks, which are terrorizing innocent refugees, including children. It is Israel's responsibility to ensure the safety of the civilian population in the areas which it controls."

That was the statement of Mr. Rydbeck. The press release continues:

> "In other recent incidents, some 40 Palestinian refugee families have been intimidated into leaving their homes in Sidon and taking refuge in the nearby Ein El-Helweh camp."

159. We are really concerned. Are our people being forced out of the city, being put in a refugee camp, unprotected, unarmed, undefended, so that there may be a repetition of what happened at the Sabra and Shatila camps?

160. I shall hold the Council responsible for any repetition of that genocidal crime against our people, unless the Council moves. We cannot but condemn Israel and hold it solely and exclusively responsible for these criminal acts.

161. A report of the International Law Commission tells us that an

> "internationally wrongful act committed by a State in a field of activity in which that State is subject to the power of direction or control of another State entails the international responsibility of that other State. . . . The occupying State . . . assumes international responsibility for any internationally wrongful acts committed by organs of its own with which it has replaced corresponding organs of the occupied State, and will obviously be responsible for its own act."

The same responsibility falls squarely on that State for acts committed by other organs. Israel is exclusively responsible for all those crimes, including the crimes of Sabra and Shatila and the invasion of Beirut, and I should like to see the Council pronounce itself clearly on this matter.

162. The General Assembly, in its resolution 37/123 B of 16 December 1982, has unanimously condemned the plunder of the Palestinian cultural heritage and called upon the Government of Israel to make full restitution of all the cultural property belonging to Palestinian institutions, including the archives and documents removed from the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut, documents and archives arbitrarily seized by the Israeli military forces. The General Assembly adopted that resolution unanimously. Naturally, the criminal cast the lone negative vote.

163. An attack on a cultural heritage is an act of cultural genocide. We are now watching a television series called "The Winds of War". The world watched the Nazis—those Christian Nazis—burn books, a cultural heritage. We still live through those scenes almost every night. We live them in our minds, in our consciences. We remember those crimes, those acts of cultural genocide, with horror.

164. Yet the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut was subjected to an escalating wave of attacks. A few years ago the Director, an academic, received an envelope which proved to be a letter-bomb. It caused

loss of sight in one eye, and the fingers of one hand were literally chopped off. Another member of the Research Centre, a Palestinian writer, was killed when a time bomb exploded in his car. A few years ago the Centre was the target of a missile attack—yes, an attack with missiles mounted on a vehicle automatically and remotely controlled. While there was a lack of precision, the Centre suffered costly damage. The military troops of the Judeo-Nazis and the Judeo-Nazi Junta that sits in Tel-Aviv, that Junta that represents the Irgun Tzeva'i Leumi, those who collaborated with Hitler's hordes—yes, those troops marched on Beirut. And one prime target was the Palestine Research Centre. The Israeli army looted archives and documents of every kind concerning Palestinian history and culture. Irreplaceable manuscripts were looted. But the PLO was resolute. A cultural centre with our Palestinian heritage, our national heritage, should be made available to all.

165. Thus having failed to destroy the resolute will of the Palestinians to survive, and alarmed by the powers of the intellect, Israel proceeded to the next step—burning the Centre. A car loaded with 500 pounds of explosives was detonated outside the Centre, resulting in the destruction by fire of a cultural heritage. The explosion resulted in another act of human, rather inhuman, genocide. More than 20 innocent human beings were killed, assassinated in cold blood, and more than 120 were rushed to hospitals to be attended by medical specialists as a result of injuries received.

166. I am sure that the Judeo-Nazi Junta in Tel Aviv will persist in its policy and efforts to eliminate the Palestinian—cultural or human. The PLO deems it only proper that the Council should condemn Israel for such acts and demand full restitution and indemnification for the material loss incurred. Israel cannot exonerate itself by the challenge: "Show me concrete evidence that Israel is implicated in or party to the crime".

167. In conclusion, we call upon the Council and we hope it will respond. Israel must be forced to withdraw from all the territories it has occupied since 1967. Israel must abide by and carry out all the decisions of the Security Council, and if Israel does not do that, then the Council has the remedy: such criminals have no place in the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973).

[2] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982, vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

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OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2413th MEETING: 14 FEBRUARY 1983

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2413) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires *a.i.* of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599) 1

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2413th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 14 February 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2413)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
   Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
   Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
   Letter dated 8 February from the Chargé d'affaires *a.i.* of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires *a.i.* of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599)

1. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian):* In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings [*2401st and 2412th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Egypt, India, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council table; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian):* I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Labaki (Lebanon), Mr. Kirça (Turkey) and Mr. Al-Amri (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Sir, I congratulate you most warmly on your accession to the presidency for the month of February. My satisfaction at seeing you presiding over this body now is all the keener when I consider that you are the worthy representative of a country with which Guyana enjoys relations of solid friendship and fraternal co-operation, one with which my country shares a firm commitment to the goal of lasting peace and the strengthening of security among nations. I need not express my confidence that under your guidance the work of the Council will be efficiently managed. I am certain that this is the unanimous feeling and expectation around this table.

4. Mr President, you have succeeded my very dear colleague and brother, Mr. Amega, of friendly, non-aligned Togo. I am pleased to say that, in the few months that Mr. Amega has been in New York, relations between Togo and Guyana have both strengthened and deepened. Our two countries have happily developed a healthy and promising co-operation, both within the Security Council and in other forums, in defence of principles and values dear to both our countries and both our peoples. I pay a tribute to Mr. Amega for the serenity, the maturity and the sense of dedication which characterized his presidency during the month of January.

5. It is most appropriate that the Council, at the request of Jordan on behalf of the Group of Arab States, should have resumed consideration of Israel's persistent policy of establishing settlements in the occupied West Bank and the escalating violation of the human rights of the populations of those territories.

6. It is an instructive coincidence that this series of meetings was resumed only a few days after the publication of the report of a special commission set up to investigate the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut last September. In that report we see responsibility attributed to high-ranking Israeli civilian and military leaders, especially Ariel Sharon, for the massacre of those unfortunate Palestinians. That report merely serves as additional confirmation of the genocidal attitude of the Israeli leadership towards the Palestinians. It is that same attitude of callous indifference on the part of those leaders to the life and well-being of the Palestinians—an attitude that the report makes so clear—which lies at the root of the brutality and the repression about which the representative of Jordan, on behalf of the Group of Arab States, has complained to the Council.

7. It is with much anguish that my delegation has been reading, during the past weeks, reports of consistent complaints against Israel for arrests of students and faculty members, closures and blockades of institutions of learning, the fencing in of Palestinians like animals in a corral, the closure of health clinics, the demolition of homes, the confiscation of private lands and the establishment of yet more settlements in the illegally occupied West Bank.

8. My delegation strongly condemns these actions, which fly in the face of every norm of peaceful, friendly relations among States and peoples and blatantly defy the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the Organization, which have on numerous occasions condemned Israel's aggressive, expansionist policies and reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own independent homeland.

9. The policy of the Zionists towards the occupied territories is clearly one of creeping colonization, combined with violent suppression of the rights of the Arab populations. Israel's acts of aggression are clearly designed to weaken and demoralize those peoples, in particular the Palestinians, and thereby —so it hopes—to suffocate all nationalist sentiment within them and force their acquiescence in perpetual second-class citizenship and Israeli domination.

10. Attempting to liquidate the Palestinians or to erase the Palestinian national identity will not bring peace. In Guyana's view, the manifest basis of any lasting solution to the Middle East question remains a clear recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent sovereign home. Peace and security in the Middle East demand that Israel come to terms with the Palestinian people.

11. Guyana recognizes the right of all States in the region to live in peace and security. But Israel's peace and security and its neighbours' peace and security are two sides of the same coin. The first requirement, therefore, for any such régime of peace and security is that Israel cease forthwith its policy of territorial expansion and annexation. Israel must withdraw completely from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

12. The enemy of peace in the Middle East, the State which is most vocal in its professions of a longing for peace with its neighbours yet which systematically pursues towards them policies which themselves lead to greater tension and instability, is Israel. It is not without significance that Israel's acts of aggression against the populations of the occupied West Bank and its expansion of settlements there coincide with the displacement and murder of Palestinians in refugee camps in Lebanon, with the intensification of Israeli occupation of that country, with its refusal to withdraw its troops as called for in Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), and with the increased repression in the Golan Heights. Do we need any further evidence of where the obstacle to peace in the Middle East lies? Is there no end to the permissiveness being shown towards Israel?

13. The arrant defiance being displayed by Israel is made possible only through the assured support, both political and material, which the Israelis receive from their powerful friends. Like the racist régime in Pretoria, Israel, secure in the protective embrace of its principal supporter, is buttressed and encouraged in its repeated flouting of decisions of the United Nations and in its continuing aggression against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories and against neighbouring Arab States, all of which only serves to make more difficult the goal of a secure and lasting peace.

14. In this regard, the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization comes immediately to mind. Members of the Council will recall that in that

report, which is at present under our informal consideration, the Secretary-General expresses his concern about the inability of the Council to play its role as the primary world authority for international peace and security. He also reminds us that those members of the Council which have special rights and special responsibilities under the Charter share a sacred trust, and that trust must be a paramount consideration.

15. Guyana believes, and we have so stated on numerous occasions, that it is high time that the Council was allowed to rise out of the paralysis imposed upon it and become responsive to the demands of crisis situations, such as that in the Middle East, which threaten a confrontation extending well beyond the confines of the region. It is time that the Council ceased being a mere spectator and was allowed to become meaningful and relevant to those people, such as the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, who look to us to guarantee their safety against the forces of foreign occupation. The recent actions by Israel in the occupied West Bank and the annexationist threats hanging over those territories have made more urgent the need for effective action in accordance with the provisions of the Charter to compel Israel to abide by the decisions of the Council.

16. Mr. BATAINAH (Jordan) *(interpretation from Arabic):* At the outset, Sir, I should like to extend to you sincere congratulations and deep appreciation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your presence in the Chair is a source of pleasure and satisfaction to us; your well-known diplomatic skill and expertise will enable the Council to achieve the most effective results. It is gratifying for me to refer to the friendly relations which link our two countries, and especially for me to recall your country's firm support for Arab rights in the face of aggression and domination.

17. I should like to extend deep thanks and appreciation also to your predecessor, Mr. Amega, of Togo. The skill and effectiveness with which he guided the work of the Council last month won him the admiration of all. His diplomatic expertise and experience played a vital role in the achievement of tangible progress and in crystallizing substantive principles for the work of the Council in particular and for the work of the United Nations in general, as regards the effective maintenance of international peace and security. On behalf of the Jordanian delegation and on my own behalf, I extend sincere thanks and appreciation to Mr. Amega.

18. Despite the fact that 15 years have elapsed since the beginning of the abominable Israeli occupation of the Arab territories, despite the proliferation of forms of aggression, of the many methods of achieving hegemony, of the variety of the means of oppression, and of the arbitrary acts committed by Israel against the Palestinian Arab people and against the Arab nation, the essential question remains: "When will Israel end its occupation of these Arab territories?"

19. All of Israel's military attempts, all its diplomatic manoeuvres, cannot camouflage the reality of its occupation of the Arab territories or the fact that it is denying the Palestinian Arab people its right to self-determination on its national soil. All of these manoeuvres and oppressive acts cannot camouflage two basic facts concerning this occupation by Israel: first, that the occupation is illegal and, secondly, that there will be no peace unless the occupation is terminated.

20. Israel has ridden roughshod over all of the resolutions of the United Nations and especially over Council resolution 465 (1980), which calls upon it to stop establishing settlements. Instead, Israel has expended tremendous efforts at various levels to legitimize its occupation of the Arab territories. It has pursued that policy by creating new *faits accomplis*, both within the occupied territories and in the framework of its relations with its Arab neighbours. In so doing, it has intensified its settlement activities in the occupied Arab territories; it has attempted to fragment the Palestinian Arab people and monopolize military superiority; and it has maintained the drastic imbalance of power *vis-à-vis* the Arab States.

21. Israel has violated the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,[1] especially paragraph 6 of article 49 of that convention. That provision would prohibit the introduction of any alterations in the demographic nature of the occupied Arab territories in any circumstances. It would prohibit the occupier from undertaking any settlement activities in the territories it occupies.

22. Moreover, Israel has striven by every means and by employing the most drastic methods of violence and terror to destroy the moral and material existence of the Palestinian Arab people. Its recent invasion of Lebanon and the acts of violence by its military forces against defenceless civilians in the refugee camps in Lebanon proved beyond a doubt Israel's deliberate intent and persistent endeavour not to recognize the rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

23. That policy, which is based in essence on an attempt to make the entire region prey to the aggressionist and expansionist nature of Israel, has led to the bloody wars that have broken out in the area and to the intense terror and tension that prevail today in the Middle East. That tension jeopardizes not only the security and safety of the region, but also international peace and security.

24. Adding to the gravity of the situation is the fact that Israel, within the framework of justifying the policy it is pursuing, has at times fabricated Talmudic historical pretexts and at other times false security reasons based on its claim of its absolute right to assimilate the occupied Arab territories and to direct military blows at will against the Arab nation. The first fruits of that policy are the inflated security interests claimed by Israel, which include an area extending

from North Africa in the west to the frontiers of China in the east. That geographic inflation of Israel's security concerns is paralleled only by its Talmudic claim, which dates back thousands of years. This claim has led to the theory of Israel's security—which rests on a purely aggressive basis—and to its attempts to achieve an absolute monopoly on military superiority and to destroy the Palestinian Arab people, as well as to the obstruction of any progress towards Arab stability, to the pursuit of the policy of pre-emptive war and blitzkrieg, to the continued expansion at Arab expense and to its absolute reliance on war as the sole option in its relations with the Palestinians and the entire Arab nation. Israel has failed to entertain any positive or moderate position on the part of the Arabs short of full capitulation.

25. Linked to this theory of Israeli security is the pursuit of an Israeli foreign policy with regard to the Palestinian Arab people in particular and the Arab nation as a whole that is based solely on the principle of power and devoid of any moral or human foundation. It is a policy whose only pillars are destruction, domination and hegemony, instead of coexistence and understanding. It is a policy based on fanaticism and terrorism rather than on moderation and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

26. Israel has striven to achieve one of the basic aims of that policy, namely, to portray any concession or recognition of the rights of the Arabs and the Palestinians as a threat to its existence. Under the pretext of that claim, it has sought to justify its absolute intransigence with regard to the legitimate demands of the Palestinian Arab people, to resist any international pressure aimed at prevailing upon it to recognize those rights, and to justify its concept of security based on aggression and expansion. Within this framework, Israel has sought to uphold the premise that the State may place the requirements of its own survival above the interests of the international system in order to justify a raw drive for power by Tel Aviv and the achievement of regional gains. In a nutshell, Israel has sought to portray unjustly the Arabs as working for its destruction, in order to justify its own plans for their destruction. In that light we can understand the Israeli claim that it is pursuing a policy of self-defence while engaged in acts of domination over its neighbours and waging wars against them, as well as its use of the pretext of security in consecrating its settlement policy. The Israeli propaganda machine has fabricated the Palestinian and Arab threat to its security and has exaggerated that fabrication in an attempt to justify Israel's practices in assimilating the West Bank, Gaza and all the other occupied Arab territories and its acts of aggression against the Arabs and against the Palestinian people.

27. That pre-ordained policy has resulted in the stagnation and fanaticism that is being inflicted on the Middle East region and that has become a stumbling-block in the path of every attempt and sincere effort to spare the region the scourge of war and destruction. That policy prevents the achievement of peace because it undermines its main and sole basis, namely, peace in exchange for land, as provided in Council resolution 242 (1967).

28. Mr. BORG (Malta): Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Malta, I should like to associate myself with previous speakers and offer our sincere and warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February. The high post which you now occupy is an honour not only for you personally but also for the great country you represent.

29. My country looks upon your presidency as another inspiring link in the development of the relations of friendship and co-operation which our two countries greatly cherish and which culminated in the agreement on the neutrality of Malta, signed between our two countries in 1981. We assure you of our continued co-operation and support in your endeavours.

30. I also take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Amega, of Togo, for the wise and excellent leadership he manifested during the deliberations of the Council last month.

31. Mr. President, you and the other members of the Council may perhaps recall that my delegation had the honour on a previous occasion, some seven years ago, to address the Council on the question now before us. Our delegation spoke then in its capacity as Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. On that occasion, we explained the legal and political foundations on which the Committee's recommendations were solidly based and asked that the Council use them as a basis for progress.

32. Since then, as we are unfortunately only too well aware, Palestine has burned while the Council has fiddled. I doubt that any other region in the world is better equipped than Palestine is for the proverbial ploughshare; but the area has instead received in recent decades the modern version of the sword —napalm and cluster bombs. If we in the Council continue inactive, last year's most recent horrors may unfortunately be repeated.

33. We should not be facing this prospect. In our statement to the General Assembly on 30 November 1982, we quoted official records of the voting pattern on the question of Palestine over the past seven years, from which it clearly emerged that the community of nations earnestly wishes to respond to the just and legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to self-determination; that has so far been denied them. That is the single and essential element we are called upon to remedy.

34. All nations seem to recognize that something positive needs to be done—something generous, constructive and long-lasting, an investment in the future designed to advance the prospects of peace. A number of plans are under discussion and a number of initiatives have been announced, but all are under Israeli assault. Israel is on the spot; it has so far been acting with irresponsible arrogance, backed by misuse of military muscle, in its desperate search for security.

35. Too many dreary statistics can be quoted of Israel's violation of its responsibilities under the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,[1] of Israel's defiance of numerous Security Council resolutions and of Israel's unrepentant attitude with regard to the rights of the Palestinian people. The statistics make for sorry reading, for they are the seeds of future strife and conflict. Israel's repressive measures range from land confiscation to transfer of population, to use of force, to different laws applied to people of different racial origin and to illegal occupation of territory. These have been described by Natan Donvitz, a writer on moral problems and human suffering in Israel, very succinctly but with uncompromising frankness as a policy "to expel all the Arabs of the occupied territories and to kill those who resist".

36. If is, of course, highly commendable that these policies can be criticized openly. But the fact of criticism does not justify the original acts of inhuman repression and the insidious policy behind them.

37. If Israel continues to refuse to heed the calls for restraint or to see the soundness of reason, then the residual responsibilities of the Council must be utilized in the overall interests of peace. Israel can no longer be allowed to hold to ransom the peace and economic well-being of its region and, indeed, of the entire world. The carnage of Beirut should never have taken place; most certainly, it should not be allowed to be repeated either in Beirut or elsewhere.

38. Even as Beirut burned, amid the stench of death, the seed of hope was never completely extinguished. It is in the interests of all that it should be nourished to healthy growth. But action cannot be postponed indefinitely.

39. The Council has a paramount role to play in any attempt to lay the foundations of peace. As the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People observed in its 1977 report and as the Secretary-General noted in his report to the Assembly last year:

> "the Security Council [is] the only place in the world where all of the parties concerned can sit at the same table".[2]

The Secretary-General also stated in his report:

> "Let us consider what is perhaps our most formidable international problem—the Middle East. It is absolutely essential that serious negotiations on the various aspects of that problem involve all the parties concerned at the earliest possible time. Far too much time has already elapsed, far too many lives and far too many opportunities have been lost, and too many *faits accomplis* have been created."[3]

The Committee could not agree more.

40. The Committee itself, as long ago as 1976, expressed the view that the Council

> "might be more actively utilized for constructive moves towards a settlement".[3]

It also stated that:

> "Against the background of the reported difficulties in the search for a peaceful solution to the Middle East question, the members of the Committee, within their more limited terms of reference, considered that the recommendations which follow would, in their implementation, constitute a contribution within the framework of the United Nations and would complement efforts towards the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region."[4]

41. Those recommendations have remained unchanged, their value undiminished by the passage of time. In the mean time, the Committee has not ceased its indefatigable pursuit of a just solution. On the Committee's suggestion, the United Nations is engaged in much preparatory work on this question. Between now and August, practically every week will see some United Nations activity in preparation for the forthcoming International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The objectives of the Conference have been overwhelmingly endorsed by the Assembly; and so have the Committee's recommendations for seven consecutive years, faithfully based, as they were and still are, on the previous decisions of the Organization.

42. The Conference provides a unique opportunity to take into account the events of the past decades and to devise a permanent and equitable solution with universal backing which corresponds to modern realities and which the Council would then, acting in concert, oversee and implement. That is the hope of the Committee. That is the wish of the Assembly. That is a resolute expression of the yearning for peace—at long last—in the Middle East.

43. The position of my country as regards this issue is well reflected in the following statement contained in the address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malta to the General Assembly last October:

> "For the Palestinian people the road to dignity and freedom is proving particularly tragic, as the recent events in Lebanon have shown. These events

have not broken the spirit of the Palestinian people in continuing their struggle but the opportunities for a peaceful solution, which under the leadership of the PLO were genuinely being sought, have been dealt a severe blow. The Israeli actions have deliberately placed a policy of aggression right in the path of the road to peace; in the process they have inflicted unbelievable suffering, and they have torn a country apart.

"The threat to the peace and stability of the Middle East and the Mediterranean which arises out of the Palestinian and Lebanese tragedies constitutes a direct threat to peace and stability even outside the region. European nations should play a major role to help bring about a solution which both respects the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and at the same time safeguards other legitimate interests in the region. Malta is proud of the role it has played in supporting the Palestinian cause and pledges to continue steadfastly in this course."

44. It is therefore essential that all members of the Council should join ranks in this common endeavour. At this stage, surely we can all see that Israel's settlement policy and present repression in the occupied territories represent a clear obstacle to the prospects for peace. If we do, then we should say so, singly and collectively, and ask Israel to desist from its present unacceptable policies; instead, Israel should be encouraged, persuaded and convinced to join the rest of the world in a resolute search for justice for the dispossessed Palestinian people, within a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

45. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): First of all, Sir, I should like to offer you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of February. We greatly respect your wide experience and knowledge of international affairs, which will be a great asset in guiding the important work of the Council this month.

46. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Amega, of Togo, who steered the work of the Council with great dedication, distinction and success.

47. The Council is meeting once again to consider the grave situation in the occupied territories, in particular the Israeli policy of establishing illegal settlements in its relentless pursuit of expansion and consolidation of its occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands. The situation inside the occupied territories, which continues to deteriorate, must not suffer neglect on account of the broader issues resulting from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, its continuing aggression in the area and its defiance of all efforts aimed at achieving peace.

48. At the Council's meeting last Friday [*2412th meeting*], the Observer of the PLO, Mr Terzi, provided us with details of the latest acts of Israeli terrorism against the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Similar violence continues to be perpetrated against the Palestinians in Lebanon; a very recent example was the destruction of the Palestine Research Centre, in which more than 20 innocent lives were lost and over 120 people were seriously wounded. This relentless repression of the Palestinians is compounded by an intensification of the Israeli policy of illegal confiscation of Palestinian and Arab lands and properties in the occupied territories. It appears that Israel's aggression against Lebanon has further emboldened it in its design to lend permanence to its control over the occupied territories of the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and the Holy City of Jerusalem.

49. In the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, Israeli policies and practices have the single objective of the annexation of those territories in order to build a Greater Israel. Those policies and practices take the form of repression and harassment of the Arab and Palestinian population, forcing them into exile; alteration of the historical and cultural complexion of the occupied territories; usurpation of land and resources; implantation of Jewish settlements to change the demographic character of the territories; and, finally, steps towards their juridical annexation. The relentless process of the setting up of new settlements is the primary instrument for the achievement of this final goal.

50. The authoritative report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) determined that by 1980 about 33 per cent of the occupied West Bank had been confiscated by the Israeli authorities [*S/14268, para. 170*]. It is now estimated that 55 to 60 per cent of the area in the West Bank has been usurped by the occupying Power and more than 139 settlements have been created on that land. Israeli leaders also make no secret of their designs to settle nearly 400,000 immigrant Jews in the West Bank within the next five years and 1.4 million over the next 30 years.

51. The meaning of this massive colonization of the occupied territories becomes clear from the description of the occupied territories as Judea and Samaria, in a totally impermissible attempt to integrate the territories with Israel.

52. It is universally recognized that the Israeli policy of settlements has the gravest juridical and political consequences.

53. Juridically, these settlements constitute flagrant violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949[1] and open defiance of Council resolutions, particularly resolution 465 (1980), which determined in categorical terms that:

"all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional

structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof have no legal validity and that Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

54. Politically, the Israeli pursuit of systematic annexation of the occupied territories strikes at the very basis of international efforts for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, including those undertaken by the United Nations. It is designed to create *faits accomplis* which would close all avenues towards peace. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon is the *sine qua non* for the success of any peace initiative. However, it is unimaginable that any progress towards peace in the Middle East will be possible unless Israel halts all settlement in the West Bank. The realization of the hopes for peace offered by the Fez plan [*S/15510, annex, sect. I*] depend entirely on whether Israel responds by desisting from further usurpation of Arab lands. The United States Administration, which has put forward its own peace proposals,[6] has also acknowledged that calling a halt to the setting up of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories is the indispensable condition for the continuation of the peace efforts.

55. In contemptuous disregard of this prerequisite for peace, the Government of Israel has approved the establishment of more new settlements in the occupied West Bank. In the face of this open defiance of its decisions, the Council cannot escape its responsibility to act firmly and decisively under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Within the Council and outside it, those Powers which bear special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly the United States, need to take credible steps to force Israel to rescind its recent decision to expand Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Only in this way can the expectation of peace aroused by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, and other peace initiatives be sustained and the opportunity for a just and honourable solution of the Middle East conflict be seized.

56. Speaking of a lasting peace in the Middle East, we remain of the firm belief that a just and peaceful political settlement of the Middle East conflict cannot be achieved without the total withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon, as well as from all the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and without full respect for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their sovereign State in Palestine.

57. The Council must overcome the paralysis which has frozen its efforts for the realization of those objectives which are the quintessence of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). There should be no difficulty in overcoming this paralysis since the members of the Council share the concern over the dangers implicit in the continuation of the Israeli policy of repression and settlements in the occupied territories. Failure to act expeditiously and firmly in this direction could have the gravest consequences for international peace, as became apparent in the recurrence of Israeli aggression against Lebanon last year.

58. Almost two generations of Palestinians have been subjected to violence and terror or to the rigours of exile. Their tragedy is epitomized in the massacre of thousands of innocent men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The courage and restraint shown by the Palestinians and their leadership in the face of unbridled repression have won universal acclaim. Their pain is deeply felt throughout the world; yet nothing has been done for the restitution of their national rights and the restoration of their homeland.

59. The Council has a historic obligation to fulfil towards the Palestinian people: to close their tragic chapter of suffering and travail. Failure to do so will result in the complete erosion of international confidence in its role as the primary instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of a world order based on justice and the principles of the Charter.

60. Mr. NATORF (Poland): At the very outset I should like whole-heartedly to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of February. We are happy to see in the President's seat the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a brother, socialist country with which Poland has relations of friendship, alliance and co-operation. Your extensive diplomatic experience and abilities are well known; they have been demonstrated many times in the Security Council and in other United Nations forums in the course of often difficult and most demanding negotiations. We know that you will guide our proceedings towards the successful discharge of the duties before us, and we wish you every success in your important and difficult work.

61. I should like also to express our appreciation of the contribution made by the outgoing President, Mr. Amega, of Togo, who, with wisdom, remarkable skill and dedication, led our work during the month of January.

62. Barely half a year ago the Council, appalled at the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut, met to condemn that criminal act [*2396th meeting*]. During the debate that preceded the adoption of the resolution calling for respect for the rights of the civilian population [*resolution 521 (1982)*], all the speakers

expressed profound shock at those cold-blooded atrocities. The responsibility for them and for the policy which led to such losses and human suffering was strongly emphasized.

63. Today we are meeting again to continue the discussion of the policy of creeping annexation of the occupied Arab territories that is being pursued by the Israeli authorities, contrary to international law and numerous resolutions of the Council and other United Nations organs.

64. One need not argue that the expanded construction of new Israeli settlements, the expropriation of Arab property to carry out those projects and the application of such methods as demolition and sealing of habitations and commercial premises constitute integral parts of that policy. It is being conducted in defiance of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in flagrant violation of Security Council decisions and with total disregard for international law.

65. Also, there is no need to argue that these notorious activities are directed at changing the status of the occupied Arab territories. Proof of Israeli expansionism is offered by its unilateral annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem, a deliberate colonization effort leading to the gradual economic and administrative integration of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with Israel, the extension of the Israeli juridical and administrative system over the Golan Heights, and practices of a dubious character in the southern part of Lebanon. Evidence provided in some statements by high-ranking Israeli officials is further testimony to the expansionist policy of Israel. Those practices, accompanied by various forms of repression and terror, permit the harbouring of no illusions as to the true intentions of the invaders. Last Friday, the Council heard the statements in this respect made by the representatives of Syria and the PLO [*2412th meeting*]. The cases presented illustrate shockingly that policy of the Israeli authorities.

66. Poland's position concerning the Israeli policy of settlements on Arab lands in particular and the situation in the occupied Arab territories in general is well known. It has been presented on numerous occasions in the course of debates in this chamber and in other forums as well. It was given, *inter alia*, in our reply to the Secretary-General's note concerning General Assembly resolution ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982.

67. We have always resolutely and consistently condemned the policy of Israeli aggression and annexation in all its forms. We have always strongly opposed the Israeli policy of interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries. For years now we have been pointing out that a settlement which would bring lasting peace and security to all the States and peoples of the region can be reached only through a comprehensive and just solution. The complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem, is a prerequisite for that.

68. For years now, we have been pointing out that the policy of the Israeli authorities, supported by their strategic ally, the United States, can lead only to a deepening of the crisis. It can only intensify threats of conflagration in that very sensitive area on a wider scale, bearing disastrous consequences which are difficult to foresee.

69. The continued Israeli aggression in the Middle East which is reflected, *inter alia*, in the persistent occupation of parts of Lebanon by Israeli armed forces—not without the assistance of their proxy, the so-called *de facto* forces—should be seen in much broader than regional dimensions, for it constitutes a part of the confrontational course of the imperialist policy conducted from a position of strength and leading towards further destabilization in the world and an increase in international tensions. It is a policy that violates the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition and occupation of foreign territory by force, a policy of imposing upon others unjust, separatist solutions, under the alibi either of Camp David or of the more recent plan which, though rejected by Israel, is designed to promote United States interests in the region. And these have nothing in common with the interests of the peoples of the Middle East or with the interests of strengthening international peace and security.

70. Addressing the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly in the general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, Stefan Olszowski, said, *inter alia*:

> "Peace in the Middle East cannot be a sum total of separatist endeavours and agreements but a collective and comprehensive settlement that respects the fundamental and just rights of all its parties, and in particular the right of the people of Palestine to establish its own State."

71. The dust and the gun smoke of Israeli aggression have not yet settled in Lebanon. The Israeli forces are yet to be withdrawn. Peace is still awaited in the Middle East. The problem of the Middle East can be solved only on the basis of a comprehensive approach. Today, as the Council takes up the issue of the illegal construction and expansion of Israeli settlements on Arab territories, we should realize that this very important issue is part of the problem.

72. Mr. LING Qing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: At the outset, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on behalf of the Chinese delegation on your assumption of the presidency for this month.

73. I should also like to express sincere appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Amega, whose diplomatic

skill and tireless efforts enabled the Council successfully to fulfil its responsibilities last month.

74. As this is the first time the Chinese delegation has made a statement in the Council this year, I should like to take this opportunity to extend the warmest welcome to our new colleagues, the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe. Their experience and wisdom and their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations will undoubtedly enable the Council to carry out more effectively the noble tasks assigned to it by the Charter. I personally, as well as my delegation, look forward to the most fruitful co-operation with them and their delegations. I also wish to pay a tribute to our outgoing colleagues, the representatives of Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda, whose contribution to the work of the Council during the past two years is well known to us all. The Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that the Council will continue to benefit from their useful contribution.

75. Recent developments in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are a cause for deep concern. The Israeli authorities have refused to implement relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, have intensified their expansionist and colonial policy in the occupied territories, and have adopted high-handed repressive measures against the Palestinian civilians in the West Bank, in an attempt permanently to occupy and annex that Palestinian territory. In defiance of unanimous condemnation by world opinion, the Israeli authorities have recently accelerated the expansion of settlements in the West Bank. Not long ago they approved the establishment of four additional settlements in the West Bank and declared their intention to bring in hundreds of thousands of settlers within the next five years.

76. In order to realize this wild scheme of expansion, the Israeli authorities are illegally appropriating large tracts of the land of the inhabitants of the West Bank, seizing and demolishing civilian dwellings and displacing hundreds and even thousands of Palestinian families, which are now deprived of the land they have worked for generations.

77. In addition, the Israeli authorities have subjected Palestinian workers, teachers, students, writers and journalists who oppose their colonial rule in the occupied territories to arbitrary arrest and unreasonable interrogation; they have wilfully closed down Palestinian schools and have even used troops to crack down on demonstrators, plunging the Palestinian people in the occupied territories into a state of outright terror. All this has exacerbated the already tense situation in the West Bank.

78. It must also be pointed out that the Israeli aggressor troops that invaded Lebanon have taken barbarous and ruthless measures of repression against the Palestinian refugees there. There have been recent discoveries of systematic massacres of Palestinian refugees by Israeli troops in Lebanon. The whereabouts of large numbers of Palestinian civilians seized by Israeli troops are unknown. In view of the lessons of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, these new developments should receive the serious attention of the international community.

79. The question under consideration today not only concerns the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people but also affects the evolution of the Middle East situation as a whole and the comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East question. The Council must therefore unequivocally condemn the aggressive and expansionist conduct of Israel, consider effective measures to stop Israeli expansion in the occupied territories and compel Israel to withdraw from all Arab territories occupied by it since 1967.

80. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

81. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) *(interpretation from French)*: Allow me first to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, the most heartfelt and sincere congratulations on your accession to the presidency. My pleasure and that of my delegation is all the greater since you represent a country which maintains exemplary relations of friendship and co-operation with Algeria. The competence that you have already demonstrated in many situations, as well as your in-depth knowledge of international problems, guarantees the success of the work of the Council.

82. I also take this opportunity to address the congratulations of my delegation to your predecessor, Mr. Amega, the representative of Togo, who last month conducted the work of the Council with his well-known keenness, skill and tact.

83. My delegation is particularly happy that countries with which Algeria maintains special relations, such as Malta, Nicaragua, Pakistan, the Netherlands and Zimbabwe are now sitting in the Council. We wish them every success in their difficult and inspiring task.

84. The delegation of my country has repeatedly had occasion to express in this forum and elsewhere its serious concern and profound disquiet over the particularly critical situation prevailing in the occupied Arab territories.

85. A Council meeting was convened, it will be recalled, last November [*2401st meeting*], after the announcement by the highest official organs of the Israeli administration of a plan to establish dozens of settlements with the avowed intent of changing the demographic nature of the Arab territories and of rendering irreversible the process of expropriating

Arab resources and property by the forces of occupation, the logical end of which could be the annexation of the territories occupied in 1967.

86. At one time, one ventured to believe that the condemnation by the international community of that criminal policy, as well as the damning report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, would have had a deterrent effect on the Israeli leaders.

87. Likewise, the feeling of horror prompted by the terrible act of aggression carried out against Lebanese territory and the ghastly massacres which followed could have led one to believe that the impact of that tragedy would prevail upon the Zionist leaders to exercise greater restraint and greater consideration and respect for human rights. Unfortunately, the Israeli leaders—scorning the condemnation of the international community, including those giving them financial, military and diplomatic support—have been pursuing with the same contempt and with the same cruelty their policy of conquest and aggression against the Arab peoples of the region, and in particular against the Palestinian people, which have been driven to the wall.

88. The pursuit of the policy of settlements knows no respite. Recently again, on 2 February to be precise, the Israeli military authorities seized 2,800 hectares of arable land adjoining t' village of Salem, near Nablus, in the north of the occupied West Bank. In the same week, 400 hectares of land adjoining the village of Dayr Dibwan, near Ramallah, were simply confiscated from Arab families which rejected the compensation that the Israeli authorities wanted to pay them. The daily newspaper *Ha'aretz* announced on Sunday, 30 January, the seizure of 2,000 hectares of land in various sectors of the occupied territories near the frontiers which antedated the war of 1967—land to be used to expand Israeli settlements.

89. Furthermore, the repression of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and the very serious violations of human rights which have been admitted by Israeli officers and soldiers and in which the Head of State himself has been implicated are now well known.

90. The recent discovery of mass graves where several people were summarily massacred near the refugee camps of El Ansar and Air Heloua, in southern Lebanon, and the multiple searches and arrests of Palestinians in Sidon and elsewhere are surely stages in a policy of annihilation and of a fina' solution to the Palestinian problem, to use a phrase of sad renown.

91. It is understandable that the findings of the so-called Commission of Inquiry into the massacres at Sabra and Shatila were met by the Palestinian people with indifference and a general feeling of disappointment. As was quite frankly said by the Mayor of Hebron, the publication of the findings of the Commission of Inquiry should be followed up by the indictment of the Israeli Government by the international community, not only for its attitude during the massacres at Sabra and Shatila but also for its whole policy towards the Palestinian people. That criminal policy is not new, nor is it surprising since it proceeds from a philosophy which has always underpinned and fed the mad fantasies of certain Zionist leaders, including Begin himself.

92. For some decades that philosophy has sought, on the basis of theses which are as absurd as they are aberrant and which we are told are inspired by Holy Writ, to expand the sphere of Israeli influence to the whole of the region and to that end to maintain a permanent climate of insecurity and war. "We found an Arab country and we have made it a Jewish country", said Moshe Dayan proudly in 1972 when he was Minister for Defence. Begin himself, who speaks glibly of Judea and Samaria, has been saying since 1967 that the occupied territories should be Judaized as were Jaffa and Haifa before. Mr. Halevy cites the following formula used by a Zionist activist that is very eloquent about the profound thinking of the Israeli leaders: "we cannot bear the sight of a land that is not inhabited by Jews". And further on he said: "with the help of God we will manage to settle not only Mount Ararat, in northern Turkey, where Noah's ark ran aground, but also Yemen, the beloved fatherland of our King Solomon".

93. The newspaper *Ha'aretz* gives precise details about the mobilization of the diaspora to finance the colonization now under way. Its 19 January 1981 issue reported that:

> "At the present time a plan to finance settlements is under way among the Jewish communities of the diaspora. In the United States, the inhabitants of Kiryat Arba have set up a special fund for settlements in the Al-Khalil district. In South Africa, a campaign is being waged by Tsi Salonien, an activist of the Gush Emunim. The creation of a city of donors is envisaged, and efforts are under way to seek immigrants to people it."

94. The Zionist leaders stop at nothing to achieve their ends. A few moments ago we cited here some of their methods, which include intimidation; expulsion; massive internments; expropriation; the use of an arsenal of repressive laws, some of which date from the British Mandate; punitive operations; summary measures; and, finally, the slaughter and massacre of Palestinians—whom they have pursued in Lebanon and elsewhere—to which the whole world was witness, thanks to the mass media.

95. Today Palestinians, oppressed or ousted from their homeland by the champions of a racist ideology, are turning to the international community and finding a conspiratorial silence, in particular among the

leaders of certain countries where, unfortunately, Zionist influence and propaganda have to a large extent anaesthetized part of public opinion. It is timely to remind those Powers that they bear a heavy responsibility to history in protecting and giving strength to an expansionist entity which, not content with having uprooted and expelled entire populations from their territories, has pursued them beyond those territories to decimate them. Today it is in Lebanon. Where will it be tomorrow?

96. The arbitrary measures taken in violation of conventional international law by the Israeli military authorities against the inhabitants of Syrian Golan, measures which seek to complete the process of zionization of that territory and to change its juridical status, are ample proof of the profoundly chauvinistic character of the Israeli leaders and their inflexible determination to pursue the realization of their Greater Israel.

97. The situation of the population of Golan since its annexation in December 1981 by the occupying Power constitutes a grave source of concern because of the risks it entails for a general conflagration of the region.

98. At the time, the Council denounced that act of juridical piracy [*resolution 497 (1981)*], and it is duty-bound to repeat its condemnation of that intolerable failure to obey ethical rules and international law, because it constitutes a grave precedent and a particularly outrageous act of defiance of the United Nations.

99. The United Nations, after a good deal of trial and error and a conspiratorial silence which has lasted for two and a half decades, did identify the original cause of the Middle East conflict.

100. At its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly courageously lifted the veil from a tragedy produced 35 years ago by recognizing that the question of Palestine constituted the Gordian knot of the Middle East problem, by restoring the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and by making official the representation of the PLO [*resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974*].

101. Since then, the General Assembly has on various occasions reaffirmed by overwhelming majorities the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and has called on the occupying Power to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories.

102. The recent tragic developments in that part of the world, with their train of atrocities—the full horror of which has been impressed upon us by the mass media—demand that we once again call the attention of the international community to what remains the cardinal element, the *sine qua non*, of any just, honourable settlement of the Middle East problem: the fact of the Palestinian nation.

103. The time has come for the Council, which has been enriched by the valuable contributions of new countries whose support of just causes has always been constant, to revise its position and to co-ordinate its action with that of the General Assembly, so that the Palestinian people, which has been the victim of an historic injustice, can return to the land from which it was ousted and recover the property of which it was stripped, and so that peace and harmony may return to that battered land, the cradle of civilizations and the crossroads of mankind.

104. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian):* The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

105. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I thank you, Sir, for calling upon me, and I sincerely congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month, when the meetings of the Council are so very important. I believe that your rich political background and experience will contribute to the achievement of good and successful results at these meetings.

106. After three months of hard work on and in the demanding General Assembly, we are again back where we have been for the past 35 years, namely, the Zionist invasion of Palestine. As members of the Council can see, in spite of the clever General Assembly resolution 180 (II) of 21 November 1947—the result of a conspiracy against Palestine carried out 35 years ago under the pretext of the maintenance of international peace and security—there has been no peace and security in our area ever since that time.

107. What my delegation understands from this perennial situation is not that the Zionist furuncle was transplanted to Palestine for the maintenance of international peace and security, but that, on the contrary, as a historical fact, the occupation of Palestine by the Zionist aggressors and the formal recognition of that occupation by the United Nations at that time were an imperialist conspiracy against the Muslims of the Middle East in general and against the Palestinians in particular and, as such, constitute a blatant act of violation of international peace and security.

108. In spite of a considerable—and fortunately increasing—number of individual cases of good intentions in the United Nations, and even in the Security Council, it would be too optimistic to believe that the general trend in the international body has changed considerably. That is so simply because those satanic Powers which have been backing the Zionist aggressors in the area are still supporting them in the United Nations, to the extent that those Powers do not hesitate to threaten the United Nations in order to crush any resistance to the presence of the forged political entity in the international body.

109. Moreover, the philosophy behind the creation of the United Nations was not the defence of the oppressed or the prevention of aggression or the eradication of imperialism; it was the preservation of peace and security as defined by the founders of this international club and the preservation of international peace and tranquillity and the maintenance of the then-prevailing international *status quo* in the interests of the ruling Powers and super-Powers. That is why there is not one single instance of any international crisis or problem having been resolved against the interests of Western or Eastern imperialism.

110. The United Nations did not and could not end the Viet Nam war; the United Nations is not capable of preventing United States support for the inhuman South African régime; the United Nations is not capable of forcing the Russian army to withdraw from Afghanistan. Similarly, the United Nations is not capable of restoring the usurped rights of the Palestinian people. We have therefore maintained that any success in the United Nations for the Palestinians would be, at the most, another pacifying resolution which, if it were strong enough to count as a political victory, would definitely be vetoed by the imperialist Power, the United States.

111. We are also of the opinion that the political history of occupied Palestine is very well known to United Nations officials, as well as to Member States. How could it be possible for a problem to become part and parcel of the entire United Nations household and yet for the nature of that problem to remain obscure?

112. Moreover, most of the Member States belonging to the third world have had enough personal experience of imperialism. Therefore, the reason why a serious political decision against the Zionist base is not made here is to be sought in the mechanisms of imperialist manipulation and interference here in the United Nations. Thus, so long as the presence of global arrogance and its lackeys remains as it is now, it will be vain to anticipate a miracle in the United Nations in favour of the Palestinians. When United States imperialism and its servile puppets in the area are defeated, then there will be no need for the generosity of the international body, or—to be optimistic—the United Nations too will enjoy more independence from the super-Power's influence and will act rationally and correctly.

113. My delegation would only hope that our participation would shed some more light on the issue and consequently affect the international consciousness in such a manner that many more of the oppressed might stand against global arrogance. The present stage of the Zionist plots against the Palestinians is very crucial. The Zionists, as we have reiterated before, intend to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip to their zone of permanent occupation. In an article entitled "Blaming the U.S." that appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* of 3 January 1983, Asher Maniv stated:

> "But the present American policy serves no good purpose. The linkage suits Begin and Sharon well. They drag their feet on the Lebanon negotiations not because they want to stay there but because they want to stay in the West Bank."

114. The showmanship of Sharon's resignation should not fool any realistic person. The criminal policies of the Zionists started long before Sharon's membership in the ruling body of the usurping Zionist régime, and they will continue after him. His resignation is only a pacifier that facilitates the continuation of aggression and serves as a manoeuvre to gain sympathy for the criminal Zionists whose crimes in the Sabra and Shatila camps have broken the Nazi criminal record.

115. The Zionists have meanwhile started another conspiracy inside the occupied territories. The same issue of *The Jerusalem Post* has another article, this one entitled "West Bankers to Consider 'Peace Convenant' ". According to the article, the aggressors are working out a pro-Zionist fake Palestinian political group in order to divide the united front of the Palestinians' struggle under the leadership of the PLO. They should know, however, that there is no room for such dirty plots to deceive the struggling Palestinians, or even the United Nations.

116. As we have said before, Palestine is an Islamic land, and as such its occupation is the concern of all Muslims, regardless of their national backgrounds. The Muslims of the Middle East, despite the imperialist hegemony and the servile attitude of some kings and presidents in the Muslim world, will continue their struggle against the Zionist base. It is important at the present stage that the United Nations exercise some independence and take a constructive position in order that the oppressed Muslim nations may have some respect for it and participate in the further liberation of the international body from the domination of the super-Powers. The Muslims would indeed follow the Koranic dictum that says:

> "If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. But fear God, and know that God is with those who restrain themselves."[8]

117. It is very important that the Council not fall into the trap of Camp David, Fez, King Fahd—or any other trap—and, instead of taking sides with any of these treacherous satanic plots, that it take sides with the Muslim masses in order to regain an acceptable minimum of international prestige.

118. At this stage, United States imperialism is pleased with a mild and acceptable resolution, to pretend to be on the side of the Arabs in order to deceive the masses of the Arab world and to make the implementation of President Reagan's plot against Palestine and Palestinians more feasible. A construc-

tive resolution at this stage is usually vetoed. If a resolution is not vetoed by the United States, then it serves as a device to strengthen the United States Government's foothold in the area by concealing the nature of United States policies and those of the United States lackeys.

119. My delegation therefore requests the Council not to compromise. May the Council not forget the massacres of thousands of innocent Palestinians of all ages in the Sabra and Shatila camps. The Council would be responsible for all the Zionists' occupations and crimes if it were to ignore its heavy responsibilities towards Palestine and the Palestinian people.

120. The Council needs to show the rest of the world that the United Nations is no longer a private international club deceiving the small nations of the world that come here with so much goodwill and sincerity.

121. The Government and the Muslim people of the Islamic Republic of Iran are fully determined to stand beside their Palestinian brothers and sisters regardless of the cost. I would hope that the Council would act today in such a way as not to regret today's record in the future.

122. The Government and the Muslim people of the Islamic Republic of Iran strongly condemn the Zionist atrocities in occupied Palestine. We condemn the national and international conspiracies that have, contrary to all principles of justice, morality and international law, imposed the Zionist base of imperialism upon the Muslims of the Middle East. The Government and the Muslim people of the Islamic Republic of Iran cannot recognize such self-refuting devices, which have violated international peace and security in our area under the guise of maintaining peace and security. We strongly condemn any compromise with or concession to the Zionist usurpers, whether it comes from the imperialist Powers or from their agents in the ruling bodies of our area.

123. We strongly condemn any concessionary resolution which, under the guise of peaceful coexistence, justifies the preservation of the usurping Zionist régime. Today, commitment to the principles of divine morality, to justice and to avoidance of all miserable concession are usually labelled fanaticism and, hence, undermined. Indeed, what count on the side of the Islamic Republic are the Holy Koran and divine law.

124. Let me remind the Muslim Members of the United Nations that:

> "If any do fail to judge by (the light of) what God hath revealed, They are (no better than) those who rebel."[9]

125. I would want them not to adopt a naïve position contrary to the faith and the strong belief of their own people just in order to please others.

126. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian):* The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

127. Mr. KIRÇA (Turkey): I wish at the outset, Sir, to convey our felicitations to you on your assumption of the presidency for the current month. Your abilities and skills are, by now, well known to all of us, and we are confident that the deliberations of the Council will once again greatly benefit from your wisdom and experience. In your important endeavours you will have the full co-operation of Turkey.

128. It is instructive to note the fact that this is only the second question that has come before the Council in 1983, and yet we are again gathered here to consider problems in the Middle East generated or sustained essentially by Israel's policies. This fact attests to the necessity and urgency of finding a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the question of Palestine. The Israeli policy of establishing settlements in occupied Arab and Palestinian territories continues to be a primary source of tension in the area and progressively reduces the chances for a just solution to the question of Palestine. While, of course, the policy of settlements constitutes perhaps the most serious dimension of Israeli practices in the occupied territories, it is not the only element in the arsenal of Israel's approach to these territories.

129. We are all too familiar with Israel's record in the occupied territories, and the subject needs no elaboration here. Israeli policies range from annexation of occupied territories to the oppression of the Arab Palestinians living there. Turkey has always taken a resolute stand against Israel's negativist policies in the occupied territories, in the conviction that any eventual settlement must provide for an Arab Palestinian homeland. Without Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab Palestinian territories and their return to the Palestinians, there will be no homeland for the Palestinians. Without a Palestinian homeland, there can be no solution to the Palestinian question.

130. Just as it is incumbent upon the international community to remind Israel constantly of its responsibilities under the relevant 1949 Geneva Conventions towards the territories it has occupied since 1967 and their inhabitants, it is the duty of the Council to take appropriate measures when an occupying Power fails to meet its obligations under international law. In the case of Israel, we have a flagrant case of persistent violations of rules and norms of international law and of the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

131. The international community has denounced Israel's actions in the occupied Arab territories and declared Israel's unilateral decisions, including those on Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, to be null and void. The Government of Turkey has, in the context of its Middle East policy, similarly condemned

Israel and rejected all its illegal decisions in respect of the territories under its occupation since 1967.

132. It is perhaps unnecessary to demonstrate the wrongness of Israel's policies in the occupied territories because it is clear that those policies are unquestionably wrong. Why are they wrong? Because they are contrary to international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; because they make an extremely complex and difficult situation even more intractable; because they serve to erode further the fragile chance for peace; and because they undermine the prospects for success of the efforts for peace at present under way in the area.

133. The Government of Turkey reiterates its firm commitment to the aspiration of the Arab Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate national rights, including the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent State. The PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, has our full support in its legitimate struggle on behalf of their national cause.

134. It is our view that Israel's continued policy of illegal settlements affects negatively the prospects of an eventual solution. We call on Israel to put an immediate end to this policy, particularly in the light of the present configuration of the dynamics for peace in the area. This would contribute significantly to the amelioration of the situation. Israel's persistence in its dysfunctional policies in the occupied territories, on the other hand, will only serve to make lasting peace and security unreachable.

135. Mr. KITIKITI (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself with the felicitations that have been extended to you by other members of the Council. We are very pleased that the representative of a friendly country is presiding over the Council at a time when we are deliberating a very important question: the rights of the Palestinian people.

136. We are also very proud of the manner in which our brother, Mr. Amega, of Togo, presided over the work of the Council last month.

137. The purpose of convening the Council at this time should be emphasized at the outset: it is an appeal to the members of the Council for justice and an appeal to their conscience to put a halt to the systematic dehumanization, dispossession and annihilation of the Palestinian people.

138. The persistent flouting of international law and of the decisions of the Council by a fellow Member of the United Nations has reached outrageous proportions and strained the patience of this body to the limit. We have been informed that a further 20,000 dunums of Palestinian land have been confiscated by the Tel Aviv authorities. We cannot say that these events have taken us by surprise. They are part of an overall Israeli expansionist plan to settle the Middle East question through the extermination and expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homelands.

139. Members of the Council are well informed about the so-called diabolic master plan for the development of settlements in Judea and Samaria in the period 1979-1983. To us, the plan also came as no surprise, since, according to *The Jerusalem Post* of 26 July 1973, none other than the Prime Minister of Israel had stated that:

> "These outposts and settlements are seeds which will develop in the future, growing in population and becoming more firmly rooted. This settlement activity has deepened our roots in the land and strengthened the foundation of the State. Preparations and plans are under way for the continuation of this important activity, whether rural or urban settlements."

140. Such action has been and continues to be a violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,[1] particularly article 47. That provision has been disregarded by Israel. It even has the audacity to dispose of occupied Arab land through private sales. Israel has formally rejected resolutions 446 (1979) and 452 (1979) and has also refused to co-operate with the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979). Under resolution 446 (1979), the Council upheld the view that the annexation of occupied Palestinian lands has no legal validity and that it constitutes a serious obstruction to achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

141. There is a human element involved which we cannot afford to ignore. Among the recommendations contained in the Commission's report, it was observed that a correlation exists between the establishment of Israeli settlements and the displacement of the Arab population [*S/14268, para. 234*]. The treatment of the Arabs at the hands of the Israeli Zionists leaves us in no doubt that the legacy of Adolf Hitler is very much alive today. What crimes can one commit against mankind which exceed systematic assassinations, the limiting of the access to water by women and children, the seizure of private property, the destruction of homes and the banishment of persons? One can name any atrocity, any act of genocide, and Israel is guilty of it. What about the recent massacres in Lebanon?

142. It is clear that the authorities in Tel Aviv have lived up to the standards of their Nazi mentors, to the admiration of the Fascist régime in Pretoria.

143. The Security Council, in a statement adopted by consensus on 11 November 1976 [*1969th meeting*], deplored Israel's failure to show any regard for Council resolutions and it affirmed the rights of the Palestinians as a people under the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. What surprises us is that certain members of the Council who were party to the

consensus continue to treat Israel with kid gloves. Israel's intransigence has been made possible by the protection it enjoys from esteemed members of this body.

144. We wish to affirm that the present situation, which is a threat to international peace and security, cannot be isolated from the problem of the self-determination of the Palestinian people. Israel should withdraw unconditionally from all the occupied lands. The Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted many decisions in this regard. The inaction of the Council seems to suggest that it is concerned about the rights of the Israeli Zionists only. What about the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people?

145. The failure of the Council to act has been facilitated by the allies of Israel. So, for as long as Israel's allies are not willing to compel Israel to comply with Council decisions, I think the Council has no option but to implement Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The existence of a threat to peace has already been ascertained, and we submit that the Council should now concentrate its discussion around the mechanics of Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter.

146. The Council has an obligation to reciprocate the faith and the trust which the sole, authentic representative of the Palestinian people has in it. Failure on our part to act and to implement our decisions is tantamount to compromising the Charter and the ideals which it represents. We trust that the present series of meetings will result in a decision which exceeds the customary strong condemnations. The Secretary-General has already made us aware of the consequences of inaction by the Council on the entire system of collective security.

147. We continue to state that a solution to the Palestine question is inseparable from a comprehensive solution to the overall problem of the Middle East.

148. In conclusion, we should like to affirm our support for the legitimate struggle being waged by the PLO for self-determination. The struggle for the Palestinians' homeland is also the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

149. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from Russian)*: The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, upon whom I now call.

150. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): While the Council was deliberating on Friday [*2412th meeting*], Israeli troops broke into the Jalazone refugee camp and ordered the residents out of their homes into the main street, where they were forced to remain for several hours. This collective punishment was an official Israeli retaliation for a stone allegedly thrown at an Israeli military vehicle travelling along the road near the refugee camp.

151. It is known that the Israeli occupation authorities continue to impose collective punishments against the inhabitants of this Jalazone refugee camp, near Ramallah. For five consecutive days a curfew was imposed on them. The residents who were outside the camp when the curfew was put into effect are still not allowed to return to the camp. As a result, they are in the open air in very cold weather, and they are suffering.

152. Moreover, yesterday, Sunday, the Israeli military tribunal in Jerusalem decided to try a 10-year-old Palestinian child, named Ma'amoun Daoud Najeeb. He had been arrested and then released on bail on Friday. The allegation was that he had held up Arafat's picture during the demonstration that had started following the Friday noon prayers.

153. Furthermore, we know that the Israeli occupation authorities have continued to impose a curfew on Zahiriyeh village for 17 consecutive days. The pretext they have used for doing this is that the Zahiriyeh villagers threw stones at an Israeli vehicle passing through the area.

154. Again, Israeli soldiers and gangs of Zionist settlers stoned the Kalandia refugee camp on the 13th and 14th of this month. The camp's inhabitants, of course, did not stand idly by; they resisted by throwing stones. Apparently a Zionist Israeli officer and a number of soldiers were injured in this confrontation.

155. Today the Israeli occupation authorities decided to extend the school holiday in the occupied West Bank until next Saturday. The reason is that the Palestinian students were demonstrating in support of the meetings of the Palestine National Council. As the Security Council is aware, the Palestine National Council commenced its session today in Algiers. One hundred and eighty seats on that Council remain unoccupied because the Palestinians who live under Israeli occupation are threatened with not being able to return if they go to Algiers to participate in the deliberations on their own future. And yet we heard the word "democracy" used here. I do not know what it means in this context.

156. We are pleased that today, at last, the Secretary-General has made a statement that he is following closely and with great concern the matter of the safety of Palestinians in Lebanon and that, in close co-operation with the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), he is studying possible action that may be taken by the United Nations in this regard. Naturally, he is also in touch—the statement continues—with the Lebanese Government and with a number of other Governments which have expressed their concern.

157. I think that the Secretary-General's statement was made as a result of a statement made by Mr. Rydbeck, the UNRWA Commissioner-General, informing us that on 10 February three bodies had been delivered to the government hospital in Sidon —under occupation—one of them the mutilated body of a 17-year-old resident of the Ein el-Hilweh camp; the other two bodies had been burned, and one was later identified as that of a male over 40 years of age from the Burj el-Shemali camp at Tyre.

158. The UNRWA Commissioner-General further informed us that, on 9 February, 10 refugee families living in Abbdousieh, a village near Sidon, had been warned to leave within 24 hours and go to Ein el-Hilweh or Rashidieh camps. The Commissioner-General's statement continued:

> "The potential for further intimidation"—I repeat "intimidation"—"of refugees in the Sidon area is enormous ... About 50,000 refugees are receiving emergency help from the Agency there. Only 15,000 are living in Ein el-Hilweh and about 1,200 in the Mieh Mieh camp."

The others will, of course, be driven like sheep into the corral. For what reason? Only God knows. But, from the experience at Sabra and Shatila, we have every reason to fear for the future of those persons.

159. However, again in Mr. Rydbeck's words, it is Israel's responsibility "to ensure the safety of the civilian population", since Israel controls the area.

160. I have brought these facts to the Council's attention in the hope that maybe the Council will be interested in the fate of the Palestinian refugees and that of the Palestinian people, and maybe the Council can invoke the powers vested in it by the Charter of the United Nations and take some action to stop the new Judeo-Nazis from committing further crimes.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973).

[2] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/37/1), p. 4.

[3] *Ibid., Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 35* (A/31/35), para. 56.

[4] *Ibid.*, para. 58.

[5] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary meetings*, 32nd meeting, paras. 108-109.

[6] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

[7] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary meetings*, 5th meeting, para. 138.

[8] See *The Holy Koran*, II:194.

[9] See *The Holy Koran*, V:47.

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